Frances Willard

From Prayers to Politics

by Mary Earhart

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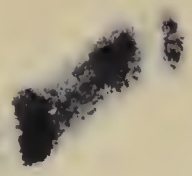
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Frances Willard

From Prayers to Politics



FRANCES WILLARD, 1858

Frances Willard

From Prayers to Politics

by Mary Earhart

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO : ILLINOIS

Lettering on title-page by Kathleen King
Jacket design by Kathleen King

University of Chicago Press · Chicago 37
Agent: Cambridge University Press · London

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To My Mother

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Preface

THE destruction of a large portion of the letters and papers of Frances Willard shortly after her death has handicapped the preparation of a biography of this remarkable woman. Fortunately, some of her papers and manuscripts still remain in the old Willard home in Evanston, Illinois, now owned by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Mrs. Margaret C. Munns, the able national treasurer of the Union since 1915, graciously arranged for me to have access to these papers. In academic tradition she did not ask to approve the material I should use or to censor any of the chapters. The interpretation of these sources as found in the biography, therefore, in no way reflects the views either of Mrs. Munns or of any officer of the Union.

Historical societies proved eager to help me in my hunt for sources. Particularly helpful were the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul, the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the registrars of Beloit College in Beloit, Wisconsin, and of Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York. I must also acknowledge the courtesies and advice of Dr. Luther H. Evans, chief assistant librarian of the Library of Congress; of Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussant, chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; and of Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, chief of the Legislative Reference Service.

I am indebted to several distinguished scholars who took the time to read portions of my manuscript and to give me valuable criticism. Among these are Dr. Bessie Louise Pierce of the University of Chicago and Dr. Helen Vincent McLean of the Psychoanalysis Institute of Chicago. My obligation is also great to Dr. Wilbur K. Jordan, president of Radcliffe College, and to Mr. Joseph A. Brandt of the University of Chicago Press, for searching criticism of literary and historical presentation.

My colleagues at Northwestern University have been unstinted

in their interest and helpful suggestions. Among these have been Dr. James A. James, dean emeritus of the Graduate School and chairman emeritus of the History Department; Professor Clyde L. Gross, chairman of the History Department until his untimely death in 1942; and Professor Kenneth Colegrove, chairman of the Political Science Department.

MARY EARHART

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
August 1944

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CHAPTER I

The Frances Willard Legend

FOR centuries legends and myths have been instruments of power. By appealing to the imagination of the masses they draw individuals into their magnetic currents. The story of Frances Willard as known to millions of people throughout the world is part legend, part reality. Frances Willard herself did little to create this legend. Honest, fearless, and frank, she sought the truth with courage and faced the triumphs, disappointments, and tragedies of life with poise and intelligence. But after her death the band of women who followed her and adored her found themselves without an inspiring leader. To hold these women to the cause that Frances Willard had led, the legend was created.

At the time of the death of Frances Willard in 1898, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had spread its membership into almost every civilized country. Never before had the world witnessed such an extensive woman's movement. The very magnitude of the crusade for temperance was destined to bring differences of views. Even while Frances Willard was still alive, discord had already appeared within the Union. This she was able to check through her own popularity. But as soon as her hand was lifted from the helm, old controversies broke out and imperiled the entire organization. To hold the dissident factions together it was necessary to find a symbol that would rally the devotion and loyalty of the members. It was the old problem of closing ranks and marching forward after the death of the beloved leader.

Even after death, Frances Willard remained the unique dramatic force of the Union. By headlining her personality, Miss Anna Gordon, her secretary from 1877 to 1898, shrewdly conjectured that she could arouse the loyalty of the members and unite the sisterhood. It was truly prudent to delete from the story of Frances Willard such of her views as had aroused antagonism during her career. Accordingly, the somewhat radical social philosophy of the departed lead-

er was discreetly hidden, while emphasis was placed upon her work as the defender of that sacred institution, the American home. To emphasize this part of her career she was constantly characterized as a saint who had poured out her life for the uplift of humanity.

The value of the myth as an instrument of propaganda is too well known to require an explanation. It refers to symbolic stories among highly civilized people rather than to the folk tales of primitive peoples. Thus the myth may be partly fiction and partly accurate narration which is consciously developed by a pressure group or any other organization for the purpose of effecting some social or political control. The concept of the Savior in Hebrew civilization, the False Decretals in the medieval church, the doctrine of the divine right of kings in modern Europe, and the Lincoln legend in American history are examples of the myth as a force in the social and political world. The Frances Willard legend is no less a myth. By using the myth-medium in shaping the destinies of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Anna Gordon displayed uncanny acumen and accomplished much for the cause she ably served. She created an irresistible appeal to countless women by baptizing Frances Willard in the white light of sainthood. Differences soon were forgotten in adulation of the consecrated woman.

In so far as Miss Gordon desired to achieve immortality for her patron on the pages of history she partly defeated her own purpose. Unaware of the deeper significance of the woman's movement in American life, she unwittingly dwarfed her heroine by limiting her story to the struggle over temperance. In many respects the contribution of Frances Willard to the emancipation of women far transcends in importance her achievement in allaying the "curse of drunkenness." The temperance movement, however, was the sole goal of her admiring secretary, as well as of most of the leaders in the Union. Again, the long struggle of Frances Willard for woman suffrage and for female equality under law was also allied with her leanings toward labor-unionism and socialism, all of which the other leaders of the temperance movement considered foreign to their cause. Thus, in the building of the Willard legend the claim to a greater immortality was sacrificed to securing unity in the ranks of the crusaders against Demon Rum.

The beginning of the legend was marked by the publication of a biography entitled *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard.* The de-

voted author was Anna Gordon. This was strictly a laudatory account, without any attempt at objective evaluation or criticism of her career. Miss Gordon always saw Frances Willard through the eyes of a hero-worshiper, which is not surprising when it is realized that for twenty years she obscured herself so that the peerless leader might shine the more brilliantly. She would often say that, while she could not make speeches or write books like Frances Willard, nevertheless she could mend her gloves and wash her stockings. So Anna Gordon plodded along, writing letters, arranging lecture tours, keeping accounts, and caring for her wardrobe, to the end that Frances Willard, untrammeled by these petty details of life, might stand on the rostrum before cheering crowds and speak the words that brought thousands of adherents into the Union. Therefore, it is small wonder that the biography penned by such a devoted follower would be biased and that much important material would be ignored or withheld.

Anna Gordon dedicated herself to the task of winning popular acclaim for her great friend. Her first notable achievement was to enshrine Frances Willard in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. In 1899 she secured from the Illinois legislature an appropriation of nine thousand dollars for a statue of Frances Willard. On the seventh anniversary of Miss Willard's death, February 17, 1905, the statue was presented to Congress for placement in Statuary Hall. At this time each House convened in dedicatory service, and eulogies were given by George E. Foss, Charles E. Littlefield, Henry S. Boutell, Shelby M. Cullom, Albert J. Beveridge, J. P. Dolliver, and Albert Hopkins. The press noted at the time that these services were a tribute not alone to Frances Willard but also to American womanhood. Indeed, she was the first woman so honored, and even today she stands alone among the statesmen of the nation. All the states save Illinois have chosen favorite sons to represent them in the nation's hall of distinguished citizens. But as Illinois thus placed its benediction upon her, so did congressmen and the press.

Anna Gordon also conceived the idea of securing a myriad of local memorials, such as bridges, streets, schools, hospitals, and other public buildings. She initiated a campaign for all state and local Unions to use their influence to have such new public improvements named after Frances Willard. This plan met with sur-

prising results. Within a decade several hundred of these memorials were dedicated in a manner that kept her name forever in the consciousness of the communities. A statue in a park, or even in Statuary Hall, is often only a reminder of a forgotten memory; but numerous public memorials, in the form of buildings and streets all over the country, constitute a living remembrance as the name of the individual thus honored is daily spoken by the inhabitants of the locality. Moreover, by 1915, four states—Kansas, Alabama, New Mexico, and Tennessee—had declared her birthday, September 28, a school holiday.[1] The cumulative effect of all this was astonishing. Every year thousands of people were speaking the name of Frances Willard. Furthermore, as the legend imbedded itself in the public consciousness, her name was spoken with increasing reverence, even with awe. Ministers and teachers alike came to speak of her with a quiver in their voice. Anna Gordon and others in the Union never mentioned her name without pausing, like Antony over the dead body of Brutus, to wipe away a tear. And as Anna Gordon wept, so did the women of the Union. It became the custom for the national president of the Union to mention Frances Willard at least once in every annual address. For over thirty years this precedent remained unbroken, and even today it is a rare presidential address which does not make some allusion to the illustrious leader.

With the opening in 1900 of the Hall of Fame by New York University, Anna Gordon began a campaign to place the statue of Frances Willard in this collection of notables. Finally, in May, 1923, the bust, sculptured by Lorado Taft and donated by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was deposited in the Hall of Fame. Anna Gordon proudly witnessed its unveiling and gave an address on Miss Willard's saintliness, calling her a "prophetic genius and a spiritual seer" and prophesying that the verdict of history would immortalize her as "America's beloved daughter, pioneer, patriot, philanthropist, orator, educator, and lover of humanity."[2] Probably no woman has ever labored so diligently to achieve immortality for a friend and leader as did Anna Gordon.

But Miss Gordon gave to the world an idealized Frances—a woman not of flesh and blood but of mystical character. In the endeavor to maintain forever this fictitious character she burned basket after basket of letters and documents which fell into her pos-

session after Miss Willard died.[3] In this way she hoped to preserve the legend unchanged for future generations. No doubt she felt that the end justified the means. No doubt she failed to anticipate the possibility that some historian in the future might condemn the act as an injury to Frances Willard. Does any person, even in the interest of a great humanitarian movement, have the right to remold the historical character of another human being and then destroy all evidence to the contrary? Is not this a form of intellectual perjury? These questions are more easily asked than answered. Ethics is not an exact science.

At any rate the end sought by Anna Gordon was magnificently achieved. She elicited the reverence of the Union for Frances Willard as a saintly person. The legend she created acted as the binding force to hold together the dissident factions of the Union during the critical years immediately after Miss Willard's death. Small differences were forgotten in common devotion to their great leader and the sublime cause she espoused. On the other hand, this distorted and dehumanized personality has denied to Frances Willard her rightful place in history. Women of lesser stature, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, have been accorded far greater prominence by historians than she, although it is probable that her contribution to the woman-suffrage movement alone far surpassed that of either of these notable leaders.

The concept of saintliness lived and grew within the organization as the years passed. In 1938 the national president declared before the annual convention: "We follow, not the woman Frances Willard, but the leader sent of God, we believe, for a special purpose. We follow the Lord who led her and now us in the paths of service." In the summer of 1939 the president made an address at Chautauqua entitled, "Everybody's Saint Frances," in which she likened her to St. Francis Assisi. At about this same time another member of the staff said: "Saint-like Frances Willard set a high standard for herself and inspired women of the world to set a similar example for themselves."[4] For forty years the leaders of the Union followed Miss Gordon's example of emphasizing Frances Willard's saintliness until the members have acquired the same hallowed reverence for her that medieval mystics exhibited for some blessed patron.

The Willard legend, however, has served the Union in many oth-

er ways than as a cohesive force. It has also been the most productive means of raising the funds which are necessary to conduct the Union's campaign of education. The love of the members, which was so skilfully fostered by the legend, provided a lucrative field for the sale of Willard tokens and for jubilee contributions. Herein lay the use of the legend for propaganda of a more material character. Frances Willard was hardly buried before the Union began the sale of "mementoes." The Union advertised a satin bookmark with her dying words lettered in gold, "How beautiful to be with God," to sell at twenty-five cents. A Willard pin was designed in various metals which sold at from twenty-five to seventy-five cents. A souvenir spoon with her image engraved on it was also fashioned for sale. Her books were collected in a special set to sell for nine dollars. In this set were *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, *Woman and Temperance*, *A Young Woman Journalist*, *A Classic Town*, *A Great Mother*, *How I Learned To Ride the Bicycle*, *Nineteen Beautiful Years*, *How To Win*, and *Woman in the Pulpit*. For those readers who wanted only the essence of her thoughts two little pamphlets were prepared, one called *Quotations from Willard Writings* and the other, *Thought Gems from Miss Willard*. But the sale of these things was only incidental to the big drive made under the aegis of the Frances Willard Memorial Organization Fund, which was established at the first annual convention after her death.

At this time the national Union designated the day of her death, February 17, as a memorial day to her, to be commemorated by all the local chapters. As a further mark to solemnize the occasion each chapter was asked to send two dollars to the national organization to be used for "extension work." In commenting upon this campaign the president, Lillian N. M. Stevens, said that every well-informed white-ribboner must admit that a fund for the extension of the work to which Miss Willard gave her life was a most approved memorial to her. Some years later another officer said: "The memorial convention in 1898 was inspired to establish, as a perpetual memorial to the greatest organizer the world has known, the Frances E. Willard Memorial Organization Fund, to win recruits to the ranks." By 1925 this fund had reached the grand total of $206,565, which, indeed, was a worthy memorial even for a saint. Yet in view of the Jubilee fund collected in 1924 and in 1939 the sum was insignificant.

In 1924 came the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Union. Anna Gordon was now national president. The occasion offered a unique opportunity for the further exploitation of the Willard legend. Miss Gordon set a goal of one million dollars and one million members. In view of the fact that the Prohibition Amendment had been adopted in 1919, this goal was indeed ambitious. With the success of their fifty years of labor, some members expected the dissolution of the organization rather than an extension of their activities. But Anna Gordon, a keen judge of human nature, was not convinced that prohibition in the United States had come to stay. The Golden Jubilee, therefore, was to popularize prohibition as well as to secure more funds for the campaign of education. The new project was financed out of the old Willard Memorial Fund.

The mystical Frances Willard became the very heart of the new campaign. The *Union Signal*, the official publication of the Union, for this year was replete with stories and articles about Frances Willard, and a column was even run on her "sayings." Much publicity was given to the number of public memorials now named for her throughout the country. The entire Jubilee celebration pivoted upon the magic of her name. All of this met success. Despite the self-satisfaction and relaxed endeavor that came with the prohibition era, money poured into the coffers of the Union. American women read every line about Miss Willard with avid interest and sentimental satisfaction. The object of their devotion was saintly, sweetly angelic. They read and wept and contributed their coins as an offering of love and adulation to their glorious St. Frances. By the end of the Golden Jubilee year the Union had passed its goal with a total receipt of $1,034,121.48.[5] But the Union was less successful in securing members and fell short of its quota. The really significant part of this magnificent Jubilee year, however, was the amount of public interest aroused both in Frances Willard and in the Union. Never since her death had the prestige of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union been so high.

The money collected at this time was used almost immediately in extending the work of the Union. Those who remembered that Frances Willard had built the organization on the proverbial shoestring recoiled at the munificence of the Jubilee fund, all of which was to be spent within the short space of several years. Such a

bonanza had never even been dreamed of in the old days. But the legend had now gripped the hearts of women throughout America, and their generous contribution bespoke their awakened love and veneration.

A decade slipped by and brought another anniversary, September 28, 1939, the centennial birth-year of Frances Willard. With the success of the Golden Jubilee still vivid in their memory, the women decided to celebrate the Willard centenary by another million-dollar campaign. In 1934, therefore, the Union announced a five-point program which was to culminate in a grand finale in September, 1939. But this greatest celebration of all was not to be directed by the genius of Anna Gordon. This sincere and capable leader had died on July 21, 1931. A secretarial staff and publicity agents, therefore, were employed to guide the project properly with professional skill. The plan for the centenary was most ingenious. Each organization with which Frances Willard had been connected was asked to co-operate. The frailty of human nature in wanting public recognition could be counted upon to swing a number of organizations behind the centenary regardless of any special interest. Thus each co-operating organization helped to build the spiral of publicity, which appeared to emanate spontaneously from all parts of the country. Many who spoke beautifully upon Frances Willard during the year of the centenary never before knew much about her, but they eagerly accepted the information supplied them by the publicity department of the Union. Clergymen, teachers, lawyers, congressmen, and presidents of women's clubs joined the group of speakers as the campaign of publicity grew. Anyone reading the numerous speeches reported by the press throughout the country during this year will notice the similarity of statements bearing the imprint of a central source of information.

Avid interest in the centenary swept from coast to coast. Instead of carrying the trade-mark of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, however, such publicity was stamped as a speech by the president of some prominent club or by a popular minister of the gospel in some distant village. The legend grew as the propaganda grew. Although something of the manifold activities of Frances Willard was presented to the public, the purpose was chiefly to arouse public interest and thereby win support for the Union. The events in her career which made good copy were duly exploited to

whet the public interest. Although the legend was expanded somewhat from the days when Anna Gordon compressed her into a mere temperance reformer, she was still a legend, still fictionized for public consumption.

The commercial nature of the centenary celebration was similar to that of the Golden Jubilee. In each case the goal was one million dollars. The Willard publicity again was primarily to secure this sum. To take full advantage of the aroused public interest, an array of pamphlets, books, and mementoes was offered for sale. Among these was a new edition of *What Frances Willard Said*, which Anna Gordon had edited in the early years of the twentieth century and which sold for seventy-five cents. An illustrated child's book, commissioned from an Evanston writer and subsidized by the Union, was called *The Early Life of Frances Willard*. A dramatic monologue was also commissioned by the Union, *The Uncrowned Queen*. Likewise, an official biography was prepared, *Frances Willard of Evanston*, and priced at two dollars. Among the lesser material which sold for ten cents was a radio script, *Birthdays of Frances Willard: The Voice of Song*, which included the special favorite, "Frances Willard, We March"; and a popular pamphlet, *As Others Saw Her*. Reproductions of her portrait, plaques of the Willard hand, bookmarks, and memorial spoons—all were sold in her memory. Probably the most important memento was the Willard Memorial Map which sold for one dollar. Made of cloth to be used as a wall hanging, it showed some three hundred churches, schools, hospitals, parks, and monuments now named after Frances Willard.

Thus did the Union choose to honor Frances Willard on the centenary of her birth. The legend had become a fairy Midas, enriching the organization. The proceeds for the centenary year amounted to $743,798.19, while the local unions pledged enough to complete the million dollar-goal.[6] This sum, however, was spent almost as rapidly as it was accumulated; for advertising, publicity, and clerical expenses arising from the campaign were stupendous. The splendid success of the celebration was due to the exploitation of the name of Frances Willard. So cleverly was the campaign planned that she suddenly became the most-discussed personality of the century. Even the Post Office Department, under the direction of James A. Farley, known to be unsympathetic toward the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was persuaded to design a

stamp in her honor. The long struggle of Anna Gordon to immortalize Frances Willard in the hearts of her countrymen, beginning with the placing of her statue in Statuary Hall, came to a glorious climax in the centenary celebration of 1939. Newspapers and periodicals throughout the land sang her praises, congressmen eulogized her from the floor of each House, and people of prominence in many fields gave generous recognition to her greatness. The magic of her name had never been so compelling as in the year of her centenary. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has reaped a golden treasury and a strongly entrenched organization from the Willard legend.

From the long-range viewpoint, one of the most regrettable features of the centenary was that the staff of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which prepared the propaganda ignored the techniques of historical research. Thus numerous mistakes were made both as to facts and as to interpretation. Having destroyed the documents that showed the broader aspects of Miss Willard's career, the Union failed to publicize the most significant facts of her remarkable life.

Frances Willard was not merely the leader of the temperance movement during the most critical decades of its existence. She was more than this. She became at a strategic moment the beloved statesman of the woman's movement in the United States. The early woman's movement, limited to the East, had softly collapsed under a deluge of derision. Frances Willard promoted the revival of the movement in the West, brought the fire and strength of the prairies to its aid, and with her dynamic personality joined the temperance cause with woman suffrage and with agitation for the complete emancipation of women.

She interested women in a variety of activities which stimulated their desire for personal achievement and service to the community. She made women conscious of their own collective power, and she gave them self-confidence. She taught women the technique of organization, introducing them to public speaking, affording them a plan of work, and otherwise urging them into the strong current of the new woman's movement. The western woman, moreover, was ready for this vigorous leadership, as she had been prepared for it by the renaissance in American education and the philosophy of the frontier.

The qualifications of Frances Willard as a leader and organizer were exceptional. She had a compelling personality which made women by the thousands adore her, yet she also possessed a hard, dynamic quality which gave her driving-power. Such characteristics enabled her to develop an association which was the largest, best-organized, and most influential body of women of the century. By the sheer magnetism of her personality she carried this organization with her from one advanced position to another. She so completely dominated the Woman's Christian Temperance Union after 1880 that the influence of one was the influence of the other. But in all this she was more than the leader of a temperance organization. In truth, she was the general of the whole woman's movement, seeking the emancipation of her sisters from all legal, traditional, and economic bonds. Finally, she was a woman and not a saint, the Frances Willard legend to the contrary notwithstanding.

CHAPTER II

Puritan Ancestry

WHEN Frances Willard was engaged upon the writing of her autobiography, she made a searching investigation of her ancestry and even visited many of the Willard landmarks. She was proud to trace her descent from the Puritans of New England. The first of the line was Simon Willard, distinguished colonist and daring soldier. In later years when she visited England she paid homage to this old warrior by placing a memorial tablet in his parish church at Horsmonden, Kent, England.[1]

Simon Willard came to America in the Puritan tide of immigration under the reign of Charles I (1625–49). The exact week of his arrival is not known. But, as he promptly secured a homestead, the approximate date may be concluded from the grant of one hundred acres by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts dated August 4, 1634. The farm, moreover, was well chosen, lying only a few miles from Boston on the Charles River and bounded by Boston Bounds and the Commons.

Simon was a young yeoman from Kent, fleeing England, apparently, because of the bloody persecutions of Charles I. He brought with him his young wife and infant child, a brother and a sister, and some village folk. Once established in the colony, Simon, in addition to farming, engaged in fur trading, which, of course, brought him into contact with the Indians. His honest dealings with them won their confidence and good will, thus bringing him profits in fine furs and information about fertile lands. So excellent, indeed, was his relation with the natives that the Great and General Court of Massachusetts (the Colonial legislature) frequently commissioned him to carry on official transactions with them.

Simon arrived in Boston in the midst of a local controversy of preposterous proportions. Ironically for one who had banished himself from his native land in order to seek religious peace, he now found himself in the midst of the Separatist dispute, shortly fol-

lowed by the Antinomian controversy, which split the colony and led to the expulsion of Roger Williams and the excommunication of Anne Hutchinson. But this was not all. The freemen of Cambridge were also engaged in a quarrel. They had complained to the General Court of "straitness" for want of land, especially meadowland, and had petitioned the court for permission "to look out either for enlargement or removal." The court granted permission in the May session of 1634 for "removal."[2] But objection was raised by the Court of Assistants, the provincial judiciary, which held to the view that communities should be solidly built up rather than spread out into neighboring territory. Into this turmoil of church and state arrived the peace-seeking English yeoman. Simon remained in this contentious atmosphere one year, then sold his farm with the evident intention of "removing."

In the early summer of 1635, Peter Bulkeley (1582–1659), a Puritan clergyman from England, arrived at Boston. Simon, who had apparently abjured Roger Williams, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and the whole religious controversy, sought the friendship of this learned minister. Together they planned a new community where they might find peace and ample lands for expansion. It was agreed that Bulkeley should have full charge of the church in the new settlement. The twelve families who had followed Simon from Kent to America again gave evidence of their faith in his leadership by joining him for a trek into the wilderness to build their homes anew. These settlers were of excellent stock, which has been attested by the recurrence of the names of their descendants in historical and literary records of New England.

Simon had negotiated with the Indians for a choice piece of land "six miles square," the existence of which he had learned from his native friends. This tract of land was situated in the "Musketequid" region. His petition to the General Court was successful; the spring session of 1636 ordered the grant for this new plantation. Simon and his friends called their new plantation "Con-Cord," home of agreeing men. The name seemed especially appropriate in view of the discord then rampant in Boston.

Edward Johnson, a companion of Simon on several surveying expeditions, described the founding of Concord in his celebrated *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Savior* in the following vivid words:

One Captaine Simon Willard being acquainted with them [the Indians] by reason of his Trade, became a chiefe instrument in erecting this Town, the land they purchase of the Indians, and with much difficulties traveling through unknowne woods, and through watery scramps [swamps], they discover the fitnesse of the place, sometimes passing through the Thickets, where their hands are forced to make way for their bodies passage, and their feete clambering over the crossed Trees, which when they missed they sunke into an uncertain bottome in water, and wade up to the knees, tumbling sometime higher and sometimes lower, wearied with this toile, they at end of this meete with a scorching plaine, yet not so plaine, but that the ragged Bushes scratch their legs fouly, even to wearing their stockings to their bare skin in two or three hours; if they be not otherwise well defended with Bootes, or Buskings, their flesh will be torne: (that some being forced to passe on without further provision) have had the bloud trickle downe at every step, and in the time of Summer the Sun casts such a reflecting heate from the sweet Ferne, whose scent is very strong so that some herewith have been very nere fainting, although very able bodies to undergoe much travell, and this not to be indured for one day, but for many, and verily did not the Lord incourage their naturall parts (with hopes of a new and strange discovery, expecting every houre to see some rare sight never seene before) they were never able to hold out, and breake through: but above all, the thirsting desires these servants of Christ have had to Plant his Churches.

Amid such harrowing circumstances was peaceful Concord founded, which in later years was known as the "Athens" of America. So successful, however, was Captain Willard in the founding of Concord that he was engaged to manage the establishment of the near-by town of Lancaster. Soon he acquired a reputation as the "Founder of Towns." Active in public affairs, he was recognized as a leader of the Merrimac frontier. He was at once elected clerk of the writs and was re-elected to this office annually for nineteen years. In 1646 he was elected a deputy to the Great and General Court and continued to represent Concord until 1854, with the exception of three years. Appointed to the Court of Assistants, the judiciary of Colonial Massachusetts, at various times by the Great and General Court, he held court in 1654 at Hampton, in 1666 at Salisbury, and in 1675 at Dover and York. He was in continual demand by the Great and General Court to settle Indian disputes, survey boundary lines between settlements, and adjust disputes arising in various communities.

Simon, master of politics, was quick to enjoy a good monopoly. When the General Court ruled in 1637 that henceforth only one man in a town should be permitted "to sell wine and strong water and no other strong water is to bee sould," Simon promptly secured the Concord monopoly for the sale of such liquor. Four years later he secured a monopoly from the court for all the Indian trade in the colony, for which privilege he paid one-twentieth part of all "fure and wampum" which he and his associates received.[3]

Harvard College, established in 1636, was another interest of this versatile Puritan. His connections with the first College of the United States were many. He was related by marriage to Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard.[4] Shortly after coming to America, his wife died; and he married, about 1640, Elizabeth Dunster, sister of the new president of Harvard College. Elizabeth died within a year without issue. Simon then married Mary Dunster, who was probably a cousin of Elizabeth. The blood ties with Harvard, therefore, bound his interest to the institution and aroused his concern over the financial struggle which gripped the college. Some of the towns made contributions to the college either in grain or in money. Simon was instrumental in securing a small grant of money from Concord. A copy of the grant given on page 17 shows that the names of Simon Willard and Peter Bulkeley head the list of freemen who authorized the donation. In later years sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Simon went to Harvard, some remaining there to teach. Two Willards have been on the list of the overseers of Harvard: namely, Josiah (1734–55) and Sidney (1834–40); and two other Willards have been presidents of the college: namely, Samuel (1701–7) and Joseph (1781–1804).

Like all rugged colonists, Willard was a fighter. Because these communities were frontier settlements with savages lurking in the hinterland, it was necessary for each new plantation to organize a regiment. In 1637 the Great and General Court of Massachusetts appointed Simon to "exercise the military company at Concord" and accordingly gave him the rank of "Lieutenant." Simon presumably came by his military training in England, since Edward Johnson in his *Wonder-working Providence* referred to him as the "Kentish Soldier." In 1646 the court increased his rank to that of "Captaine" and in 1653 to that of "Major." The following year Major Simon Willard was made commander-in-chief of the United

1635.

It was voted, & by gen̄all erecc̄on of hands concluded, that M^r^ Endicott should be com̄itted, for his contempt in ꝓtesting against the proceedeing of the Court; and, vpon his submission, & full acknowledgem^t^ of his offence, hee was dismissed./

3 September. M^r^ Endicō committed.

It is ordered, that there shalbe a plantac̄on att Musketequid, & that there shalbe 6 myles of land square to belong to it, & that the inhabitants thereof shall have three yeares im̄unities from all publ̄ charges, except traineings; ffurther, that when any that plant there shall have occac̄on of carryeing of goods thither, they shall repaire to two of the nexte magistrates where the teames are, whoe shall haue power for a yeare to presse draughts, att reasonable rates, to be payde by the owners of the goods, to transport their goods thither att seasonable tymes; & the name of the place is changed, & hereafter to be called Concord./

243– Concord.

Further, it is agreed, that, hereafter, noe dwelling howse shalbe builte above halfe a myle from the meeteing howse, in any newe plantac̄on, graunted att this Court, or hereafter to be graunted, without leaue from the Court, (except mylł howses & fferme howses of such as have their dwelling howses in some towne;) Ipsw^ch^, Hingham, Newberry, & Waymothe to be included in this order./

244– Rep: 111. Dwelling houses not aboue half a mile frō y^e^ meeting house.

Ordered, that Waymothe shall have a deputy this Court./

245–

It is ordered, that whensoeuer any serv^t^ shall run from their maist^r^, or any other inhabitant shall privily goe away, with suspic̄on of ill intenc̄ons, it sbalbe lawfull for the nexte magistrate, or the constable & two of the cheife inhabitants, where noe magistrate is, to presse men & boates, or pynaces, att the publ̄ charge, to pursue such psons by sea or land, & bring them back by force of armes./

246– (30) Runnawayes.

*It is ordered, that, after the last of March nexte, there shalbe xij^d^ apeece paide (besides damages & charges of keepeing) for eu̇y swine that shalbe taken without a keep within one myle of any plantac̄on, or ffermes improved by tillage, to be paide by the owner of the said swine to any that shall impound the same; and also that such swine soe impounded shalbe cryed att the two nexte lectures, & if they be not owned within three dayes, it shalbe lawfull for the p̄ty that hath impounded them to gett them prized, & then to sell them, & deliuer the ouerplus of the money into the nexte Court./

[*160.] Order ab^t^ swyne.

It is ordered, that there shalbe fforty markes gyven to M^r^ Thacher, out of the tresury, towards his late greate losses./

40 m^k^ given to M^r^ Thatcher.

It is ordered, that, hereafter, the deputyes to be chosen for the Gen̄all Courts shalbe elected by paps, as the Goū^r^ is chosen./

247– Election of Deputy^s^

CONCORD GRANT

An agreement made and agreed upon by the towne and church of Concord concerning the colledge att Cambridge. Made August 22, 1653.

It is agreed by the company of the sayd towns and church, to give yearly the sume of five pounds for the vse of the sayd colledge to be leavyed, and to be payd in att or before the last of ye month of May, the sayd yearly sume of 5 £ to continue for the space of seven years, and then be ether renewed if it shall appeare that it may be improved for good, or otherwise we to be att libertye to doe according to the state of things then being. And for the terme of seven years aforesayd. The sayd towne of Concord doth desire that this order may be witness of our consent, we have hereto sett our handes, the day and yeare above written.

Pet: Bulkeley
Simon Willard
Timothy Wheler
Robert Meriam
Thomas T. Brooks*
John Miles
Thomas ffoxe
Richard Rice*
Thomas Hincksmen
Will busse
Joseph Wheller
Robert Fletcher
Georg Wheler
William Woods*
James Hosmer
John Smedly
Thomas Wheeler
Luke Potter

Thomas Bateman
George Heaward
Joshua Edmonds
Baptist Smedleyes*
John Scocthford
William Hunt
Henry Farwell
Michaell Wood
John Jones
William Talier
Thomas Deene Wheate
William Underwood
Thomas Brown
Joseph Miriam
Abodia Wheeler

Thomas Dalseyn
Henry Woodis
James Blood
William Butterick
Nathaniell Ball
Humphrey Barat
Geo. Meriam

(filed)
5 £ p anu for 7 years

(filed)
colledge collection
5 £ p a for 7 years

HARVARD GRANT

* Mark.

Colonies in the well-known expedition against the Ninigrets. In King Philip's War (1675–78) Simon led his men into action despite his advanced age and made the dramatic rescue of the besieged people at Brookfield, August 4, 1675, when all hope for them had been abandoned. He died in the following April while visiting his family, who had fled to Charlestown for safety. The last few weeks of his life were clouded with worry and anxiety over the ultimate success of the colonies against the Indians and even as to whether the white settlements could be maintained. His apprehensions, of course, were not justified. The power of the Indians was broken in this war; and, as John Fiske relates, "henceforth the red man figures no more in the history of New England, except as an ally of the French in bloody raids upon the frontier."[5] Simon Willard died fighting to make New England safe.

The public activities of this patriot counted large in the early history of America. But perhaps his greatest contribution to his adopted country was his children. His progeny now number, it is said, more than two hundred thousand. On this long roster are some of America's most distinguished names. The most colorful of them, probably, were the two Willards who became presidents of Harvard College.

Samuel (1640–1707), the fourth son of Simon and his most distinguished child, was graduated from Harvard in 1659 and was the only member of his class to take the graduate degree of A.M. In 1678 he was made pastor of Old South Church, Boston. This had been established in 1669 by a dissident group from First Church. The schism in the church engendered much bitterness in Boston; and, according to gossip, the members of the two congregations did not speak to one another for nearly a decade. In 1682 John Randolph wrote to the Bishop of London about the new minister in Boston, Samuel Willard, "who baptised whom he pleased which was not liked by the people of First Church."

When the witchcraft hysteria broke out at Salem in 1692, Samuel risked his position and even his life in protestation against it. He was above fear. Among the victims of the persecution was a John Willard, who was hanged as a witch because he refused to "fetch" certain proscribed victims.[6] It is not known what his relationship to Samuel may have been, but presumably it was that of cousin.

Dr. Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard in the mid-nineteenth century, said of Samuel in this connection:

> Amid the agitations consequent on that insanity of the age, denominated the "Salem Witchcraft," the conduct of Willard was marked by prudence, firmness, and courage. He neither yielded to the current, nor feared to cast the weight of his opinion publicly in opposition to the prevailing delusion; an independence the more remarkable and honorable, as Stoughton and Sewell, two Judges of the Court of Trial, men of great influence in the Province, both his personal friends, and the latter a principal member of his church, were deeply infected by the distemper of the times.

Frances Willard commented: "Samuel Willard of Old South Church defended the witches when Cotton Mather was for having them killed. I am glad he was a gentle Willard, this Samuel."

Samuel Willard was first offered the presidency of the college, but he refused it as the by-laws required that the president should live in Cambridge. This would have necessitated his leaving the pastorate at Old South Church and removing from Boston. A compromise was finally reached whereby he accepted the title of vice-president, although assuming the duties of president, and continued his pastorate in Boston. Every week, accordingly, he commuted to Cambridge for three or four days.

Picturesque indeed are the accounts of this great man who fulfilled all the simple duties of his pastorate while also attending his larger duties as president of Harvard College. There was, for instance, the candlemaker who lived on Milk Street opposite the church. He took his infant son to the distinguished pastor for baptism the same as he had done with his other children when the pastor was less busy and less distinguished. Willard performed the sacrament himself and with his own hand wrote the name of the infant in the church registry: "January 14, 1706, Benjamin Franklin." The vigor, the activity, and the courageous independence of thought and action of Samuel Willard were all in the tradition of his illustrious father. Twenty years after Samuel's death the people of New England were still reading his sermons and discussing his views.

The second Willard to become president of Harvard was Joseph (1738–1804), the great-grandson of Samuel. He received his appointment from Governor John Hancock in 1781 during the turbulent years of the American Revolution. The fourteenth president of

the institution in which his ancestors, Simon and Samuel, took such pride, he presided over the college for twenty-three years. A Harvard graduate, an illustrious scholar of Greek, and a distinguished Congregational minister, he was spoken of for years as the "next president." When a vacancy finally occurred, he was the one and only choice. Joseph Willard lived up to the confidence and expectations of his colleagues and made a brilliant record. He raised the entrance requirements of the college, broadened the curriculum, and, most important, founded the Medical School.

Constantly writing to the foremost educators of Germany and England, he kept in touch with the new European learning. He had taken an active part in organizing the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1780 and for many years was the corresponding secretary. Hence he was in close contact with the leading men of letters and science in America. Later he was vice-president of the society. However, his own contributions to the academy in astronomy, mathematics, and the classics marked him as one of their ablest members. His broad acquaintance with American and European scholars and his eminent reputation led to his membership in the Royal Society of Göttingen and in the Medical Society of London.

SOME WILLARDS OF DISTINCTION

1605–1676	Simon Willard. (1). Soldier, fur trader; and "Founder of Towns."
1640–1707	Samuel Willard. (2). Pastor of Old South Church, Boston; vice-president of Harvard College, 1701–7.
1738–1804	Joseph Willard. (5). Congregational minister; president of Harvard College, 1781–1804.
1753–1848	Simon Willard. (5). Clockmaker; soldier in Grafton's Company at Lexington, 1775.
1780–1856	Sidney Willard (son of Joseph, president of Harvard College). (6). Educator; writer, professor of Hebrew and oriental languages at Harvard College; an overseer of the college.
1783–1861	Solomon Willard (nephew of Joseph). (6). Sculptor; architect; builder of the Bunker Hill Monument at Charlestown, 1824–41.
1830–1908	Harriet Hosmer. (7). Sculptor. Her line of descent was Simon Willard, Henry, Joseph, Joseph, and Elizabeth Willard, who married Jonas Hosmer of Walpole, New Hampshire. Their granddaughter was Harriet.

1839–1898 Frances Elizabeth Willard. (9). Educator; reformer.

1845–1937 Elihu Root. (7). Jurist; statesman. His line of descent was Simon Willard, Elizabeth who married Robert Blood of Concord. Her great-granddaughter, Nancy Blood Whitney Butterick, married Oren Root. Their son was Elihu.

1847–1910 De Forest Willard. (8). Doctor of the Sanitary Commission in the Civil War; professor of surgery at University of Pennsylvania, 1903–10.

1857–1914 Charles Andrew Willard. (9). Associate judge of Supreme Court of Philippine Islands, 1901–9; appointed by President Taft in 1910 as associate judge of Federal District Court of United States.

1861—— Daniel E. Willard. (9). President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

1862—— Julius Terrass Willard. (9). Professor of chemistry at Kansas State Agricultural College; vice-president of the same college since 1930.

1865–1924 Joseph Willard. (9). Lawyer; diplomat; minister to Spain in 1913.

1878—— Arthur Cutts Willard. (9). President of the University of Illinois.

The direct line of Frances Willard reveals the sturdy family traits of courage, patriotism, and religion. It indicates Simon (1605–76) a farmer; his son Henry (1655–1701), a farmer who owned one of the most beautiful estates along the Still River in Lancaster, Massachusetts; his son Henry (1675–1747), also a farmer; his son Abraham (1699–1731) and his son, also named Abraham (1726–58), were both farmers; the latter's son Elijah (1751–1839) left the farm in 1775 to be a soldier in Captain Gates's army at Lexington. Later he became a Baptist minister at Durham, New Hampshire, where he was pastor of the same church for forty years. His son, Oliver Atherton Willard (1784–1822), reverted to the farm again and moved to the frontier section of New York, where a little settlement called Churchville had recently been established. His son, Josiah Flint Willard (1805–68), started out as a farmer but in later life became a banker. He was the father of Frances Willard (1839–98).

The maternal ancestry of Frances Willard is more difficult to trace and somewhat less colorful than the Willard family tree.

Nevertheless, the lineage dates back to Colonial days and is of the same rugged, Puritan stock as her paternal line. Her mother was Mary Thompson Hill. The first Hill to come to America was Valentine, who reached these shores at least as early as 1636, for in that year he appears as a deacon of the church at Boston. He probably arrived about the same time that Simon Willard did and no doubt knew him. A few years later he migrated to Dover, later called Durham, on the Oyster River in New Hampshire. After the death of his first wife, he married, about 1647, Mary Eaton. The Thompson family also dated from the mid-seventeenth century. The first of the line probably came as one of the captives taken by Oliver Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650. One hundred and fifty of these unfortunate prisoners were shipped in the "Unity" to Boston and from there distributed among the colonies as indentured servants. The records show that William Thompson was given a grant of land in Dover in 1656. The Thompson and Hill families were united in the fifth generation, and their daughter, Mary Thompson Hill, was the mother of Frances Willard. The Thompsons of New Hampshire were not descended, as Frances Willard supposed, from David Thompson, who, arriving before the Pilgrims in 1616, pre-empted the small island in Boston Harbor since known as "Thompson's Island." The following chart shows the line of descent of both the Hill and Thompson families:

Valentine Hill		William Thompson
Nathaniel Hill		John Thompson
Samuel Hill		John Thompson
Samuel Hill		Nathaniel Thompson
John Hill	m. 1796	Polly Thompson
	|	
Mary Thompson Hill	m. 1831	Josiah F. Willard
	|	
Frances Elizabeth Willard		
(1839–98)		

Thus the ancestry of Frances Willard was rooted in the early history of American life, her family was indigenous to American soil. Religion was a dominant force running through the line. It found full expression in Frances Willard's family life and in her own life. Yet one cannot stress ancestry too much, as family traits do not always carry over into succeeding generations. This is well illus-

trated even in Frances' own family, for her brother Oliver followed an entirely different bent than she. Their father, thwarted in his ambition to become a minister, sought compensation in attempting to direct the life of his son into the ministry. Accordingly, Oliver from infancy was trained for the church. But the pulpit irked the young man, and he abandoned his profession a few years after his ordination as a Methodist minister. The misdirection ruined his life. He possessed an excellent mind but had periods of wandering away from home for days at a time after drinking to excess. He finally found expression for his talents as the editor of the *Chicago Post and Mail*. But he died at the age of forty-three. The same misdemeanors which dogged Oliver also dragged down his two sons, Robert and Frank. Robert became a tramp who was never content to remain in any one place more than a few months and who drank continually. Frank inherited his father's literary flair and tried to turn his wanderings to account by writing books and magazine articles. Sensitive in nature, he took the pseudonym of Josiah Flynt, in order not to embarrass his famous aunt, Frances Willard.[7]

Truly, there was something more than inheritance in the making of Frances Willard. Although the vigor, the ruggedness, and the perseverance of her forefathers entered into her composition, the environment of her early life was the potential force in conditioning and molding her personality.

CHAPTER III

The Beginning Years

RELIGION was the guide of the Willard family even in the selection of the books and papers that they read. Religion also ruled the village in which Frances was born. In this respect it was not unlike many other frontier communities. In 1815 Churchville was founded as an outpost on the western border of New York. A year later Oliver Atherton Willard, living in Wheelock, Vermont, brought his family to this new settlement, where he bought a farm. It adjoined that of John Hill, who had emigated from Danville, Vermont, only a few months before. The Hill family included a girl, eleven years old, named Mary; and the Willard family, a boy of the same age, named Josiah. Thus it happened that the parents of Frances Willard grew up together on adjoining farms. Both the Willard and the Hill families took active part in the church life of the community, and Mary taught a Sunday-school class from her early teens. So puritanical was her training that she eschewed all such worldly amusements as dancing, card-playing, and the theater. She was, however, fairly safe in Churchville from all such temptations, as the nearest theater remained fourteen miles away at Rochester and the town fathers boasted that not even "a profane word was ever heard in their settlement."

On November 3, 1831, when the Willard boy and the Hill girl had reached the mature age of twenty-six, their long-standing friendship matured into marriage. Eight years later, September 28, 1839, Frances, their fourth child, was born. The first child had died in infancy; the second was a boy named Oliver Atherton in memory of the grandfather who had migrated to Churchville; and the third child, like the first, died in infancy. This last baby they had named Caroline Elizabeth. Frances, born a year after Caroline's death, succeeded to her name, being christened Frances Elizabeth Caroline. Under this unhappy circumstance the newborn child began her life.

In the autumn of 1841 Josiah Willard migrated farther West. Leaving relatives resentful over his departure, he took his family overland some two hundred and eighty miles to Oberlin, Ohio. He had chosen this place because of the thriving college recently established there. Denied the opportunities of education in his youth he still longed to be a minister of the gospel. At sixteen he had gone to work as clerk in the village store. When several years later his father died, Josiah returned to the farm in an endeavor to save it from being sold for debts. He managed the place so successfully that he soon paid all his father's creditors. In the meantime his brother had taken up the cabinet trade but had failed to make a success of it. As soon as Josiah had made the farm profitable, he took over his brother's business and shortly had it on a paying basis. In this manner he acquired a little capital. He then decided to indulge his boyhood dream.

Oberlin College was strongly antislavery and so was western New York; the town of Oberlin was deeply religious and so was western New York. Hence Willard dreamed that he would find there a kindred community, and he was not disappointed. Upon his arrival in Oberlin he purchased several lots in the town and built a house and barn. Thus snugly settled in the community, he enrolled in the preparatory school of Oberlin College for the year 1842.[1]

As Oberlin was a coeducational school, many wives of students also took courses. After the birth of Mary, her fifth child, in 1843, Mrs. Willard took advantage of this opportunity. The college record shows that she enrolled in English literature for the years 1844-46. But according to her own account she also studied arithmetic, algebra, geometry, botany, physiology, and attended the special lectures on moral philosophy and religion.[2] Ambitious for intellectual growth, she joined the Rhetorical Society and a group organized for "mutual improvement" under the leadership of Mrs. Finney, wife of the president of the college. Thus the Willards found life at Oberlin pleasant and stimulating with the added charm of many warm friendships. They discovered here a new outlook on life which broadened their interests and awakened unsuspected ambitions. But the happy contentment of these years was rudely broken by the sudden illness of Mr. Willard. In 1845 he suffered an "attack of hemorrhage of the lungs." He had not yet completed his

preparatory studies, being then only in his junior year. His doctor recommended that he give up his studies and seek an occupation in the open air. Accordingly, the Oberlin cottage was sold. With great reluctance the family packed up their goods and in the spring of 1846 started the journey to the distant prairies of Wisconsin. They traveled overland in the proverbial covered wagons, which Mrs. Willard called "Ships of the Prairie." Their caravan consisted of two wagons and a buggy; the father and Oliver, aged twelve, drove one of the wagons; a hired man drove the other, while Mrs. Willard, with Frances and Mary, drove the buggy. The journey, a distance of about four hundred and fifty miles, took them over four weeks. They did not, however, travel on Sunday, as this was against their religious belief in keeping the Sabbath holy.

On their way to Janesville, Wisconsin, they passed through Chicago, but no member of the family voiced any desire to linger in such a "mud hole." The main street of the town was so boggy that signs were posted along the way, warning "No Bottom Here." Several times the heavily laden wagons sank to the hub and had to be hoisted out with fence rails, and once the horse Mrs. Willard drove fell into a pit of quicksand up to its belly. Indeed, they were all glad to leave the marshes for the dry upland, where traveling was not only easier but safer. Some years later, however, they were to be even more than eager to return to this same Chicago with its promise of a life both varied and abounding in opportunities.

Wednesday evening, May 20, 1846, the weary travelers arrived at the Thompson farm on the outskirts of Janesville. It was largely through the recommendation of Mr. L. D. Thompson, a cousin of Mrs. Willard, that they had come to this section, and he benignly acted as their host until they could get settled. After a study of the farmlands Josiah Willard purchased a stretch of fertile land on the east bank of the Rock River, about four miles south of the village. The family rented a cottage in Janesville for a few weeks while the frame of their house was being built. But as soon as the roof was placed on the walls, they moved into their new abode, although there were no stairs, no partitions, and only the rough boards for a floor. Even the cookstove had to be set up in the back yard until the house was finished. The new life on the Wisconsin prairie began under pioneering difficulties. Moreover, there was no railroad, no

sawmill, and no gristmill in this section, all of which contributed to their hardships.

The territory of Wisconsin still lacked the quota necessary for statehood. Hence letter postage was twenty-five cents, which made communication with friends rare. So the Willards felt doubly isolated from their friends and relatives in Oberlin and Churchville. In later years, when Mrs. Willard was asked about the culture of farm life, she tartly replied that "if one wants culture she should pack up her duds and go where folks live." There on the desolate prairie Mrs. Willard felt a dismal loneliness which made painful the memories of those happy days at Oberlin.

The only religious house in the vicinity was the circuit church established at Janesville by the Methodists in 1843.[3] Although at Oberlin the Willards had joined the Congregational church they now cast their lot with the Methodists and thereafter adhered zealously to this faith. No church, however, was necessary to cause these Puritan settlers rigorously to observe the Sabbath. On this holy day all labor and play were suspended. Sunday evening the family gathered in the "parlor" to sing religious songs. They all had good voices, and the girls played the melodeon. But only church songs were sung! Josiah was so strict in his observance of the Sabbath that he would not so much as shave, blacken his boots, write a letter, or even look up a word in the dictionary. He did, rather surprisingly, permit the family to walk around the farm on Sunday afternoons. Herein lay the only joy of the day for Frances. She loved the outdoors. As her father was something of a botanist, these rambles took on the nature of a scientific expedition. He carried, on these occasions, a pocket microscope and a tape measure with which he carefully inspected his trees and shrubs.

It would be a mistake to picture Josiah Willard as a religious fanatic. Deeply religious he certainly was. But he was also practical, patriotic, civic minded, and intellectual. Although afflicted with a "weakness of the lungs," he was a good agriculturist. His farm of three hundred and twenty acres was considered one of the best in Wisconsin. At one time he kept a thousand sheep. He was one of the first of the farmers in his district to use a mechanical reaper. Moreover, he was a leader in civic affairs. Mr. Willard helped to organize the Rock Country Agricultural Society in 1850 and served as its president. Later he was elected president of the Wisconsin State

Agricultural Society and in September, 1859, presided on the occasion when Abraham Lincoln spoke before the Annual State Fair in Milwaukee. He served one term in the House of Representatives of Wisconsin in 1849. Originally a Democrat, he joined the Free Soil party and eventually became a Republican. He was co-author of a history of Rock County, discussing its soil, topography, and political and economic development. His flower garden with numerous rare shrubs, roses, tulips, and clambering vines was renowned throughout the countryside. A wide interest in nature led to his appointment by the Smithsonian Institute as an observer for his area to report the rainfall, the velocity of the wind, the temperature, and the formation of the clouds.[4]

Frances inwardly rebelled against the strict discipline of her father's religion. He had said, "You must draw your lines and set your stakes." But his metes and bounds permitted so little liberty. No visits or calls were to be made or received on Sunday. In later years Frances reflected that this restriction was easy to maintain, inasmuch as there was no one to come nor anywhere to go! Other limitations he placed upon them were less patiently endured. On the Sabbath no games could be played, no books read unless on a religious theme, and no common pastimes enjoyed. When inclement weather came on Sundays, which precluded the usual jaunts around the farm, the question of what to do was a real problem. Such rigid discipline gave them, Frances confessed, a "bottled-up" feeling. The bleak misery of these isolated years was pathetically expressed by Frances when on a wet, drab day the three children stood huddled together in the doorway of the barn, and she suddenly exclaimed, "I wonder if we shall ever know anything, see anybody, or go anywhere!"

Mr. Willard's religion was of that flinty variety described by the historian who said that the Puritans forbade cockfights, not because they thought cockfighting was wrong but because it gave the people so much enjoyment. The brand of his religion did not appeal to Frances; in fact, she was alienated by it. Frances was more skeptical of religion as a child than either of the other two children. Her feeling of rebellion against her father's strictness together with two painful experiences made her cautious. Both of these happenings occurred while the family was living at Oberlin. The most brutal of them was when their next-door neighbor died. Willard

seized the opportunity to acquaint his daughter, not yet five years old, with the mystery of death. He took her to view the coffin and then lifted her up so that she might peer down into the dead man's face. Her fragile spirit was singed. The ghastly horror of this experience lingered in her consciousness for many years, often casting its shadow over her play-hours. She began to wonder why God would let people die; why, if he were so wonderful, he permitted such awful things to happen to people. Of this episode she later said: "I never had a blow that struck so deep as that sight; I never had a burn that seared so, nor a pain that tingled like it."

The second experience which made religion unattractive to her was listening to the bombastic sermons of President Finney of Oberlin College. Although only a child, she was always taken to church. As he thundered each Sunday on the pains and penalties of those who were condemned to everlasting hell, she became thoroughly frightened. Being a highly sensitive little person, she naturally reacted against anything which had frightened or hurt her.

About eleven years of her life were spent on this Wisconsin farm which the family had named "Forest Home." Although there was some compensation for a life in the open, these years had a retarding effect upon her intellectual development. It was, in fact, a period which dwarfed and stunted her mind and personality. Inasmuch as she was a delicate child and her father a consumptive, the outdoor life she led during these years was undoubtedly quite beneficial to her health. When one remembers the cramped and restricted physical condition of city girls at this period, the open-air existence of Frances Willard stands out in marked contrast. Even some of the papers of the day commented that nine out of ten girls looked ill and showed the lack of physical training.[5] But Frances escaped this pernicious existence and lived the same rough-and-tumble existence of a tomboy. She even wore her hair short and insisted on being called "Frank." Not until she was sixteen did she put on long skirts and only then because of parental coercion, nevertheless feeling resentful that they had ended her days of freedom. No longer could she jump the fence, dash through the yard, or run along the river bank.

Her activities were patterned after those of her brother. Thus she eschewed housework. Instead of washing dishes she helped Oliver

to set traps in the snow and to use their father's tools in carpentry. Of her activities in these early days Frances said:

> Mother never said you must cook, you must sweep, you must sew, but she studied what we liked to do and kept us at it with no trying at all. There never was a busier girl than I and what I did was mostly useful. I knew all the carpenter tools and handled them, made carts and sleds, cross-guns and whip handles; indeed all the toys that were used at Forest Home we children manufactured. But a needle and a dishcloth I could not abide —chiefly perhaps because I was bound to live out-of-doors.

Aside from the lack of schools, the dearth of companionship was perhaps the most dwarfing effect of these lonely years. The three children were dependent upon one another's comradeship; for months on end they saw no other faces than those of the family. As Frances was a shy, timid child, the lack of friends was especially unfortunate for her. She became more and more diffident and more and more reluctant to face strangers. It was to take years for her to overcome this timidity and stiffness in meeting people.

The children made the best of their isolated lives. Their keen imaginations, sharpened by their seclusion, conceived new games and new toys to alleviate the monotony of their days. They built "Fort City," a town of the imagination, with the farm buildings marking the elaborate structures they visualized. Thus the barn was labeled the "warehouse" and the cow-yard was designated the "City Market." They even laboriously hand-printed a newspaper which they named the "Fort City Tribune." This was a great game for them until 1852 when Oliver went away to college.[6] Without his genius to help run the "city" it soon collapsed. The girls then turned to simpler organizations, such as clubs. It was in 1854, therefore, that Frances conceived the idea of two clubs: "The Artists" and "The Rustics." The purpose of these organizations was to promote their own interests in the "Arts, and the Hunt," and they were probably patterned after the organizations their mother had belonged to in Oberlin. Both girls enjoyed sketching, but Mary, especially, was gifted. Their interest in art became much more of a game by having a club with rules and bylaws. Only Frances and her sister Mary belonged, but their imaginations supplied all the deficiencies of membership. Likewise "The Rustics" was a club for two which had been invented after Frances had gone on a reading spree of such adventure stories as *Wild Western Scenes* and *The Green-*

Mountain Boys. The club, as well as their "city," was a sort of mental compensation for their lonely lives.

Heedless of the morrow or the great world which lay beyond Forest Home, the girls romped and played away their childhood. The first sobering came when Oliver went away to school. Frances, who had looked up to him in everything and endeavored to imitate him in all his activities, now also wanted to go away to school. She wept bitterly over his departure, wailing "Does God want families to be broken this way?" Whatever fun she had found at Forest Home vanished now that Oliver was gone, and she set her determined little chin, resolving to leave, herself, as soon as possible.

Oliver had had no easy time in breaking away from the home ties. Times on the frontier were hard, and he was needed at home on the farm. The family had continually increased their holding of land until they had acquired a thousand acres, but they had little actual money. Oliver finally appealed to his mother to intercede for him, as his father was loath to give his consent. In the tense seriousness of youth he said to his her, "Unless you put this thing through I see no way out of the wilderness." Mrs. Willard interceded and somehow managed to persuade her stubborn husband that their son should be sent away to school.

In 1847 the church people had established a college at Beloit, Wisconsin. It was a small school, limited by lack of funds, but it had the advantage of being close to Janesville and inexpensive. Thus in 1852 Oliver went down to Beloit College to enter the preparatory department. He contrived to collect many books which he took home with him at vacation periods. These Frances read greedily partly because of a desire to learn but more particularly because of a jealous curiosity to see how far ahead of her he was. Always Oliver was her pace-setter. What he did she wanted to do, and what Oliver learned she, too, wanted to learn. Thus her first keen desire for an education was aroused by his departure for Beloit.

Loath as was the master of the house to let his son go away to college, it was nothing compared to his opposition to the girls' leaving home. He felt that if the girls learned the domestic arts and a little music they were fitted for life. This curriculum Frances refused to accept. She was supported in this view by her mother, who had never forgotten her own happy days at Oberlin College and

ever since had dreamed of the time when her daughters should go there.

When the family moved to Janesville, Oliver was nearly twelve years old—old enough to walk the four miles each day to the Janesville Academy. But the girls were too young to go this distance. The parents, moreover, for the first few years were too much occupied with the task of farming to instruct their children. So Frances and Mary just "grew." Frances was nine years old before she could write her name. The mother who had such high hopes for the future of her daughters was more and more distressed over their lack of schooling. Finally, during the months when her husband went to Madison to the state legislature (January–April 1849), Mrs. Willard began home instruction.[7] Each evening after supper the children and the farm hands gathered around the kitchen table to learn their primer work. Oliver who had already completed two years at the Janesville Academy was her assistant. But the inadequacy of this system was so apparent that even he suggested to his mother that the girls required greater advantages than she had the time to give them.[8]

The anxious mother began to plot and plan about how she could secure a teacher for her two little girls. She remembered the attractive daughter of Colonel and Mrs. Burdick, whom she had met at church in Janesville. They had recently moved into the neighborhood from Albany, New York. Although only eighteen, Rachel had been educated in eastern schools. Accordingly, Mrs. Willard visited the Burdick family and managed to become acquainted with lovely Rachel. A few days later she asked her the momentous question: Would she come each day during the summer months to the Willard farm and instruct Frances and Mary and two neighbor children? Rachel accepted enthusiastically.

Although this instruction could hardly be called formal schooling, it was more than the Willard girls had had up to this time. Frances was now in her twelfth year. Rachel introduced the girls to the writings of Scott, Wordsworth, Cowper, and Washington Irving. She taught them sketching, painting, and botany, combining these on their "field trips." To these intellectually starved, isolated children she brought something of the freshness and glamour of the outside world, telling them of the beauty of the Catskills, the Palisades, and the folklore of the Hudson River region. She

made her teaching so fascinating that Frances called it a "play school." For two summers, probably the years of 1851 and 1852, she guided their stumbling pursuit of knowledge and listened with sympathy to their dreams and plans for the future. When some years later Miss Burdick was asked for a personal glimpse of these school days she responded with the following delightful story:

A little incident occurred when Frank was my premium pupil in the early days at Forest Home. She inaugurated a system of thanks as original and unique as were always all the proceedings in that house. She and her lovely sister Mary came to me one day when they both imagined that I had done something worthy of special thanks, for they were always exceedingly appreciative and polite, and Frank, in her most dignified and executive style, said: "Miss Burdick, you are always placing us under obligations to you. The favors you do are numerous, the deeds of kindness many. Let us hereby give you one general expression of gratitude, one great big Thank You, and so let it be known that all future favors are received in the same spirit and it will be a prodigious saving of time and words." The sweet girl at her side approved this new system and wished to be considered as a thanksgiver in like standing with herself. I think I have given you her exact diction.[9]

This was, in truth, a characteristic of Frances in her young days. She wanted to cut through the social amenities with one magnificent stroke. Once when she was at college she said abruptly to a young man to whom she was introduced: "We all seem to be in good health, the company is pleasant and the evening a fine one. These subjects being duly disposed of, what shall we talk about?" It was years before she could overcome this abruptness of manner, which was a legacy from those lonely, farm years.

Frances' eagerness for schooling finally prompted her father to secure a district school for the neighborhood. It was not until the winter either of 1854 or 1855 that he was successful. The county allowed him a small sum to build a one-room schoolhouse. Accordingly, he and a neighbor put up the small structure. It was an ugly little schoolhouse, no paint adorned it either inside or out, but to Frances it was the gilded high temple of learning. This was her first school. She was so elated when her father broke the news to her that he had secured a schoolhouse and a teacher that she exclaimed: "At last we are going to have advantages like other folks! O goody-goody-goody!"[10] Mr. Willard had been very fortunate in

securing a Yale graduate, who had recently moved to Janesville, to teach this rural school.

The opening day, which came in midwinter, was a time of excitement for the Willard household. Frances routed the family out of bed at daybreak lest she be late. As soon as breakfast was over, Oliver, who happened to be home from Beloit, yoked up the oxen to the bobsled. Long before it was necessary, he had set off with his sisters for the schoolhouse because Frances was so impatient to be on the way. In a brother's superior manner he said, "Well, I hope you'll enjoy what you've got yourselves into." To which Frances promptly retorted, "We've got a Yale graduate to teach us and Beloit can't beat that." Always in her consciousness was that striving to measure up to Oliver.

Mary was not at all enthusiastic about the school or about getting educated. She much preferred a comfortable nook with her sketch pad to the mental discipline of lessons. On one occasion after a long struggle over some problem in arithmetic she bounded up to Frances with the joyful news that mother had just said she would not have to go to school any more after she had learned to write well, and knew grammar, geography, and something about arithmetic! Naïve little Mary had failed to detect the trick. Although in time Mary learned to study and managed to struggle through school, her talents were in art and music. But to Frances the school was an opportunity to catch up with Oliver! It was an elixir to her spirit.

When the Blind Institute built their new school within a mile of Forest Home, the girls were able to take music lessons. The Institute, which had been established as a private institution at Janesville sometime in the late forties, was acquired, in 1850, by the state.[11] Mr. Willard became much interested in the Wisconsin Institute and was one of its trustees from 1852 until 1858, when he moved to Evanston. Thus there was a close bond between the Willards and the teachers of the Institute. It so happened that music was one of their most important departments; the blind seem especially adapted to this training. It was therefore about 1853 or 1854 that the girls had the advantage of music lessons at the Blind Institute. They began their lessons on the lowly melodeon, which Frances loved. As soon as family finances permitted, however, Mr. Willard bought a piano for the girls. But Frances did not take kindly to the new instrument. As she continued to refuse to practice on the

piano, her father thought to coerce her by selling the melodeon. The day it was crated for shipment was the blackest in her young life. She hung over her beloved instrument kissing it goodbye time and again. There were so few things she possessed or loved that the loss of this precious instrument caused a real heartache. Her musical education herewith came to a dead stop. She steadfastly refused to learn to play the new piano! Once again the father's harsh discipline had rasped her sensitive nature.

With the district school petering out and with her interest in music aborted, Frances' determination for an education increased. A letter written to her Aunt Sarah Hill, a schoolteacher (the youngest sister of her mother), on October 5, 1855, reveals something of her struggle for an education.

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Mother is writing and there is plenty of room for Mary and I which we gladly occupy. We are so very very sorry that you are not coming, how I had planned, in anticipation of the much wished for event, but there is no help for it, and so we are trying to do the "next best thing;" Mother has started a school, and Mary and I study a great deal, every day. Arithmetic is the study in which I am most backward and I am ashamed to go to school till I am somewhat advanced in that, so I am trying to learn. I have estimated the difficulties, counted the cost and come to the full determination, to become thoroughly educated, and truly intelligent. I know that I am far behind others of my age, I know that my memory has never been disciplined—I know that my manners and appearance are rustic, and unpolished; I fear that I shall not learn arithmetic and mathematics easily; But in spite of all barriers and opposition, I am going through, I have seen too much the disadvantages of a lack of education and the superior position of intelligent persons, to be willing to take up with even a tolerable proficiency in knowledge.

My plan is to go to district school this winter, and study just as hard as I can, and next spring, to give Father no peace of his life, till he sends me to some school away from home. He thinks I am too young! Why I was sixteen last week. I know a girl only nine months older than I, who has given up ever going to school, because her father has kept her at home till she thinks she is too old!—Please give me the benefit of your advice upon the subject. Please let me know how far advanced a pupil must be before they can enter the Junior year in a young ladies Seminary. I should prefer, if possible to be as far advanced as that before leaving home. Very many thanks for your kind offer regarding our education. Hoping that I have not too much trespassed upon your time or patience and with much love, and veneration, I must close.

The Willards moved into Janesville one winter, possibly that of 1855–56. This gave the girls the opportunity of attending a school of a somewhat better standard than the district school, namely, Mrs. Fonda's Select School. During these months in town the girls met the Reverend and Mrs. Whitman from Georgia, who conducted a girls' school in the South. At once Frances was drawn to these fine people. When Mrs. Whitman invited the girls to spend a month with them, their delight knew no bounds. Frances characterized the visit, a distance of six miles from Forest Home, as the greatest event thus far in their lives. It was the first time the girls had been away from their home. Little Mary wept from homesickness the first night, but Frances tried to comfort her by saying, "Just think how much more we shall know when we go back." Mary was comforted but not convinced. She had never been so excited as Frances, anyway, about education.

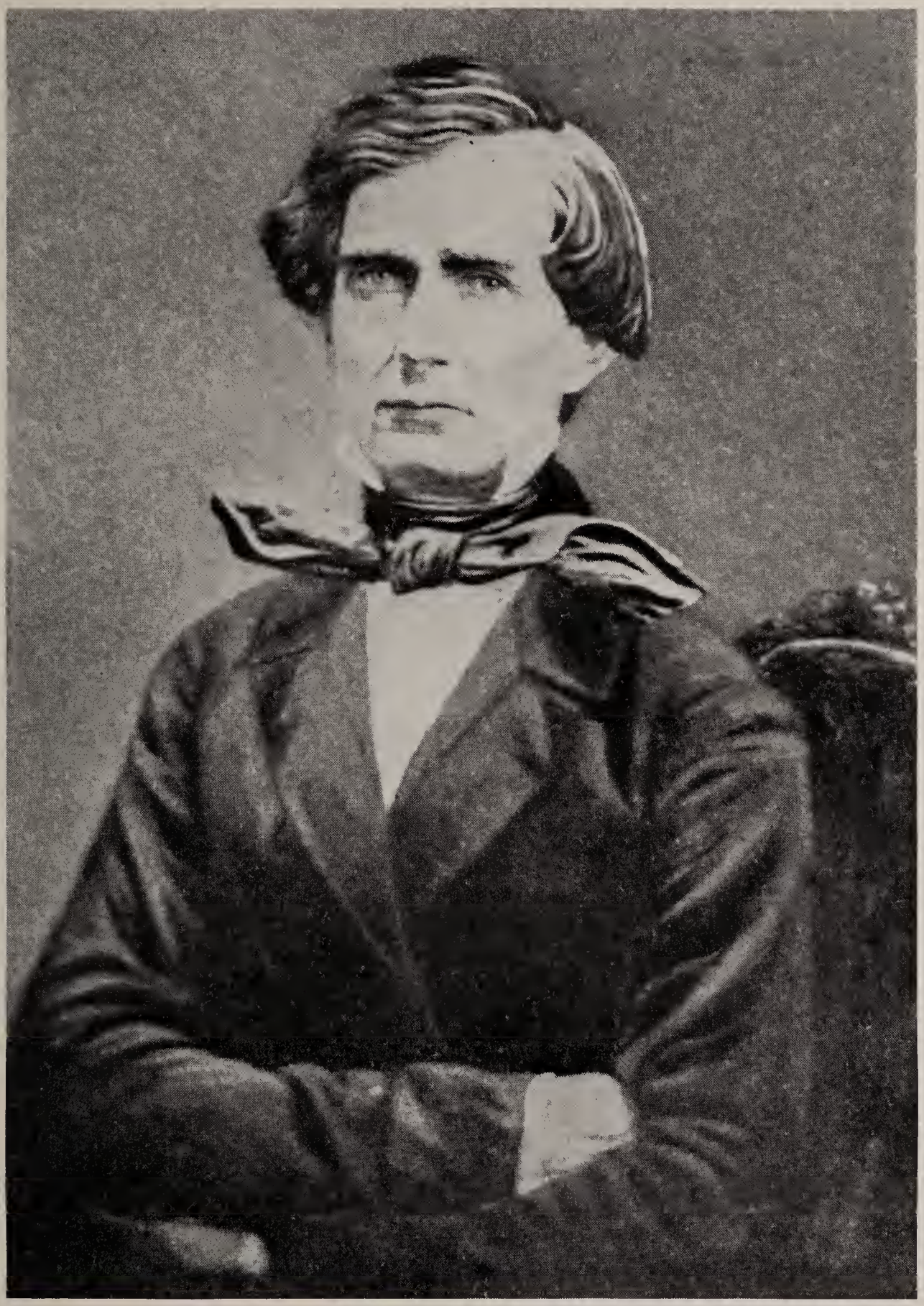
At the Whitman home Frances made her first acquaintance with a few French words and phrases; and here she read her first novel. Mr. Willard had been very strict about his daughters' reading fiction, and, as Frances expressed it, they were "blessedly ignorant of novels." But now she read with delight *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and *Villette* by Charlotte Brontë. She was just finishing *Villette* when her father called, but so engrossed was she in the book that she did not hear his footsteps until he stood beside her. His anger flared, and, snatching the book from her hand, he curtly forbade Mrs. Whitman to let his daughters read such works.

In the autumn, probably of 1856, the family visited the old home at Churchville. They even went on to Rochester to see the sights. Some part of the two years that Oliver was not registered at Beloit College he spent at Oberlin College. His illness while in Oberlin led Mrs. Willard to take him to Churchville for recovery. Thereupon, Mr. Willard decided to bring the entire family East for a visit. This was the only trip the girls had ever taken except visits to Beloit and Milwaukee.

Oliver cast his first vote for president in the election of 1856. Mr. Willard, Oliver, and the hired man all drove off together on election morning to cast their votes for Fremont. Once again Frances was left behind. Watching the trio drive off, she said to her little sister as tears streamed down her face, "Don't you and I love the country just as well as he, and doesn't the country need our ballots?"



MRS. WILLARD, MOTHER OF FRANCES WILLARD



MR. WILLARD, FATHER OF FRANCES WILLARD

Frances was seventeen and no doubt had never before thought about the matter of voting; but the heartache and resentment came because Oliver as a man could do things which she, his playmate, as a woman could not do. She gave several varying accounts of this episode, which seems to have left a deep impression on her. One of these versions is the following:

> Some glimpse of this ideal came to me at sixteen years of age, in the grief of the most sorrowful experience my life had known up to that hour. I had a brother who met my views of what a youth should be. He treated me as his playmate, his brave, adventurous comrade. We read the same books; shared the same sports and rambles. To speak and write was his most cherished dream, as it was mine.
>
> But that boy grew right on, and came at last to be "of age"; soon after which mystical epoch, "Election Day" arrived which was thought to be a sacred time at our house, and he went to deposit his first ballot. I never understood why our paths should thus diverge, so relentlessly and so suddenly for all time.

An anticipated visit by Aunt Sarah finally materialized sometime during the winter of 1856–57. As teaching was her profession, she gave Frances thorough tutoring during the ensuing months. It was the best instruction the child had received in all her seventeen years. Despite her valiant struggle for an education she had progressed painfully and slowly. When that spring Aunt Sarah joined the faculty of the Milwaukee Female College, it was finally decided that the girls might go there to school.[12]

Although Mrs. Willard had taught school in Churchville from the time she was fifteen until she married, she had only the most rudimentary education except for her special study at Oberlin College. Her inadequacy as a teacher was revealed time and again. A case in point was her method in training the girls to write by keeping diaries. As the children lived such a lonely, introverted existence this only added to their egocentricity. If she had selected topics for them to write on which would have stimulated their thought, taught them organization of material, and sequence of ideas, they might have advanced more rapidly. With the journals, papers, and books which they had in their home the writing of essays should have been encouraged to the utmost. Furthermore, Mrs. Willard had no conception of the value of "discipline," which was one of the reasons her daughters were so slow to develop.

Frances had a naïve dislike of doing anything useful, especially about the house, and, of course, she was of little help in the field. The result was that, while Mrs. Willard labored endlessly, Frances amused herself by setting bird traps, making toys, and originating games. Mrs. Willard was very fond of telling the story, when anyone criticized her daughter for lack of household responsibility, of the Arab horse race. She had read once upon a time the story of two Arabs who raced their favorite horses. For a long time they ran neck and neck when one horse suddenly shot ahead. The rider of the one behind called out, "Did your horse ever do a day's plowing?" "Just one day," was the answer. "Then I will win the race," shouted the man on the second horse, "for mine has always lived a free life and never knew a plow." Urging his horse on, he crossed the goal far in advance of his rival.

From this story Mrs. Willard derived the theory that a child should not be made to do anything which seems like drudgery but should be encouraged to do only those things which she chose. From such training Frances developed a supreme selfishness. Although Oliver plowed and did his share of farm labor, his sister rejected her part of the family chores. She was as lacking in discipline as in mental training. Mrs. Willard, however, was frank to admit the lack of pattern in the children's early education. She said: "The education of the children was more the result of circumstances than of any definite plan."

Such, then, was Frances' pitifully meager background when she went to the Milwaukee Female College in the spring of 1857. As this was one of the best schools for girls in the West, she had to struggle to keep up with the class. Without her Aunt Sarah to tutor her, however, she would have been hopelessly lost. Each night her aunt drilled her in the lessons for the following day. Notwithstanding the steady grind of studying, Frances thoroughly enjoyed the school and the friends she made there. She had longed for so many years for companions and for instruction that now she was exuberant in the new atmosphere. She had only coarse clothes and no spending money during the entire term, except fifty cents the hired man on the farm sent her. But such mundane affairs could not shackle her soul in the exciting environment.

The end of the term came all too soon, and she was more sorry to leave the school than she had been to leave home four months earli-

er. Indeed, it was a bitter heartache for her to forsake this delightful place and the friends she had made to return to the lonely tedium of Forest Home. Frances fully expected when she left Milwaukee for the summer to return in the autumn. But her father had other plans. Although Mr. Willard had been a Congregationalist during his Oberlin days, he had since become strongly intrenched in Methodism. Milwaukee Female College was under Congregational influence, although the teaching was nonsectarian. The father, therefore, decided against sending the girls back to the Milwaukee school. Frances wrote that the greatest grief of her life up to that time was her father's announcement that he had determined not to let them return to Milwaukee because he preferred a school of the Methodist denomination.

Mr. Willard held the reins too tightly. His narrowness of views and harshness of discipline twisted the tender feelings of his young daughters. From a small child Frances had been chilled and alienated by her father. During her childhood Frances smothered her resentment as best she could, but when she reached her eighteenth birthday it flared out in a hotly rebellious poem in which she renounced her father's sovereignty and proclaimed her own independence. The poem was destroyed, but it so engraved itself upon her heart that she re-wrote it from memory at the time she compiled her autobiography (1888). One may suspect, therefore, that she softened the lines considerably from what they were when first she poured out her resentment. At forty-nine one is much milder than at eighteen, especially when the denuciation is against a parent long since dead.

I AM EIGHTEEN

The last year is passed;
The last month, week, day, hour and moment.
For eighteen years, quelling all thoughts
And wishes of my own,
I've been obedient to the powers that were.
Not that the yoke was heavy to be borne
And grievous,
Do I glory that 'tis removed—
For lighter ne'er did parents fond
Impose on child.
It was a silver chain;

But the bright adjective
Takes not away the clanking sound
That follows it.
There is a God—an uncreated Life
That dwells in mystery.
Him, as apart of his vast, boundless self,
I worship, scorning not, nor yet reluctantly
Paying my vows to the Most High.
And this command, by Him imposed,
"Children, obey your parents,"
I receive and honor, for He says:
"Obey them in the Lord,"
And he is Lord and God!
But now having thro' waitings long,
And hopings manifold,
Arrived here at the limit of minority,
I bid it now, and evermore, adieu,
And sinful though it may be,
Weep not, nor sigh,
As it fades with night.

The clock has struck!
O! heaven and earth I'm free!
New inspiration. Breathing from afar
And resting before, comes joy profound.
And now I feel that I'm alone and free
To worship and obey Jehovah only.
Glorious thought! Maker and made,
Creator and created,
With no bonds intervening!
One free to worship and obedience pay,
The other on His heaven-spanning throne,
Deigning to receive the homage of His child.
God will I worship then, henceforth,
And evermore;
'Tis night, and men and angels sleep,
While I adore.

In the autumn of 1857 her father learned, through the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* and several prominent Methodists who visited Janesville, about the new school for women which had recently been established at Evanston, Illinois.[13] At Christmas time (1857) Cousin Morilla Hill, an enthusiastic convert for the school,

visited Forest Home and added her influence in its favor. Goaded by the determination of Frances for an education, Mr. Willard finally made an inspection trip to Evanston. Thoroughly satisfied that the school was a good Methodist institution, he decided that the girls should enrol for the spring term (1858). The dream of Mrs. Willard to send the girls to her beloved Oberlin College and their own dream of returning to the Milwaukee College were alike ended abruptly. Mr. Willard had rendered the decision.

On March 2, 1858, he took his daughters to the North Western Female College at Evanston. The school, located at Lake Street and Chicago Avenue, had been established as a private institution in 1855 by William P. Jones. He was a graduate of Allegheny College, and his wife, who assisted him, was a graduate of Mount Holyoke. Mr. Jones received the indorsement of the Methodist Rock River Conference for his school, and although they assumed no financial obligation they agreed to include the school in their "circuit." Thus some of the leading Methodists of the region were on the board of trustees, and they examined the students at the end of the term as they did other schools under Methodist jurisdiction. There was some objection at the Conference about Jones's using the name "North Western" as it was felt many people would confuse his female college with Northwestern University. But he so strongly urged this name that the Conference finally agreed to it. Thus Jones shrewdly linked his school up with the Methodists and with Northwestern University. Although neither assumed any responsibility, he was able to capitalize on the reputation and prestige of both. This proved of advantage to him in the promotion of his institution.

The school combined both a preparatory and a college course. When the Willard girls entered the school in 1858 the enrolment totaled eighty-one, most of which was in the preparatory department. The school had a staff of six teachers and possessed a library of 317 volumes.[14] Jones reported his school to the Illinois State Board of Education as offering a three-year course, although Frances graduated in a year and a half and her preparation was meager indeed. She later stated, perhaps out of loyalty, that this was the only woman's college of high grade known at this time, but there were other schools of far superior standing.[15] Although the school offered a curriculum of impressive subjects, including Greek and

Latin, Professor Thomas Woody has shown that this apparent excellence was one of the weaknesses of female seminaries: the poorer the school, as a rule, the more extensive its courses. Most of them tried to imitate the older colleges and offered the most advanced subjects, which, however, were taught in such an indifferent manner as to render them almost valueless. At the same time schools were called "colleges" and even "universities" which had no claim to such titles.

Frances enrolled for an impressive course of study, which included chemistry, philosophy, algebra, trigonometry, English, astronomy, elocution, and penmanship, and completed this course in two years. Mary, three years her junior and far inferior in intelligence, graduated from the same institution one year later than Frances and with about the same average of grades. At nineteen Frances still showed immaturity, as revealed in a letter she wrote to one of her friends, Dora Smith (Mrs. Solon Marks), at the Milwaukee Female College.

NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE
EVANSTON, ILL. Oct. 2nd, 1858

DEAR DORA

Your letter was received day before yesterday, and I was agreeably surprised to find that you had not forgotten me. I believe in "forgiving and forgetting," and therefore improve the earliest opportunity to answer it. It is Saturday morning, and consequently a holiday, (or holimorning, I don't know which.) "The girls" are sitting around in the different rooms, living as "fast" as possible. I am in Ada Ward's room (one of my best friends). Three girls are sitting on the floor, one making some "jockey" collars for us all, which are to be worn at the dinner table. Another, descanting on the merits and demerits of certain absent girls, and the third in a state of great excitement because her sewing doesn't "go to suit her." Three pianos are concentrating their voices and pouring them upon my bewildered ear, and amid all this confusion, please do not wonder if my letter is rather "mixed" in character. I will say that I am here alone, thus far this term, but Mary is coming in about two weeks. I am perfectly contented, have "good times," study Higher Algebra, Moral Science, Biblical Antiquities, and Logic. Shall graduate next July. As you graduate on the 22nd or 23rd, I think, and I on the 15th, I hope to be able to witness the interesting performance.

Evanston is a beautiful village, twelve miles from Chicago. The girls are obliging, smart, and I love them all. They are good scholars too, and the time I am spending among them is almost the happiest of my life. To

tell you of half of our fun and so forth, would be to write a longer letter than I intend, but if I ever see you we will have at least one "talk." There I have done with Evanston, and now I want to write about Milwaukee.

I shall never think more of any one than I do of some Milwaukee girls. For instance, Dora Smith, Marion Wolcott, and many others whom I will not mention. But our paths lie apart, and I think of you as ideal beings more than as real "humans" as my present friends are. I do, honestly. O! Dora, I am about distracted, the girls are so noisy. You may ask "why are you not in your own room"? Well, I've done my share toward reducing the chaos reigning there, to order, and my roommate is completing the renovation, and of course, I don't wish to be there. Now Dora, I want to presume sufficiently upon your good nature to ask for your daguerrotype, no, your ambrotype, or matinetype, (don't know how to spell that last,) in your next letter. Won't you please let me have it, and excuse my impudence in asking for it. I will of course send you mine, if you care for it; in case you will be so exceedingly kind to grant my request. Please do, "Dora Darling," I want to see you terribly. My aunt is spending the Fall and Winter in New York State. She has been at "our house" until recently, ever since she left Milwaukee. She often spoke of her former pupils, and with much interest. Now, I have finished, and really, I am ashamed, but I could not do any better, for there is a "chattering" going on that I am half "beside myself." Please give my love to Marion, and all that used to be friends of mine, and accept a great deal yourself from

Yours always
FRANK WILLARD

Frances realized the inferior quality of the Evanston school compared with the one in Milwaukee. Her "ideals" were the friends she had left at the Milwaukee Female College. She never ceased to remember them, and when she was in England in 1893 she sent these old schoolgirl friends a round-robin Chiristmas message through Dora. In this letter she called them the most noble, loyal girls she had met in school.

As graduation day approached, she had no regret in leaving the North Western Female College. She wrote in her diary: "Rules are unpleasant; and the reason I'm glad to leave school is this: I can learn, I truly think, as well alone, now. I shall be free from restraint that is irksome to me." The mountain of rules which Jones thought necessary for the proper discipline of his college fettered her carefree spirit. During the first term she joined with other rebellious girls in minor infractions of the rules. On one occasion she and a

friend climbed to the top of the steeple during study hour. She took particular joy in showing off the antics of her tomboy years, astounding her companions by imitations of a bandit or pirate with all the appropriate gestures and language. Dubbed the "most reckless" girl in school, she endeavored to live up to the reputation. Undoubtedly she was the most unusual girl in the group. Shy, backward, and exceedingly conscious of her "peculiarity," she tried to win friends by bravado and bizarre escapades. By the second term she quieted down to more normal behavior, yet she was never contented with the mediocrity of the school.

Mr. Willard had been impressed with the religious atmosphere of the North Western Female College. Frances was equally resentful of it. Mr. Jones prayed for her salvation! One Sunday evening at church, being unduly urged by Jones to go to the altar, she did so, but upon returning home she wrote him a letter explaining what she called her "position." With rare courage for a girl her age, she said that, although she was willing to attend church if he felt it would do any good, notwithstanding her feeling that it interfered with the study of science, she would not again go to the altar until she felt differently. "When I do I will go unasked."

From a spiritual point of view the North Western Female College was all Mr. Willard could ask. But not until Frances fell ill of typhoid fever shortly before commencement did it bring satisfactory results in the way of religion. Thinking the end was near, she prayed desperately to live and made promises to herself of a good life and church membership. Although the religious life of the community in 1858 was paramount, it was difficult for her to adjust herself socially here as she had at the Milwaukee school. She had always been the most shy of the three children, especially in the company of adults or "mixed society." This was no doubt caused by the inferior feeling she had acquired as a child. She had been an unattractive little girl, with her plain face, red hair, and bony body. Visitors to Forest Home would carelessly comment in her hearing upon her looks and make the inevitable comparison with the lovely little Mary. This early heartache continued all through school days. Her own words tell the story:

. . . . to know yourself for a creature awkward and unadorned. To hear the door-bell ring of an evening, and see from upper windows the freshly-garnered young collegian enter, asking for "Miss Mary"; to be counted

out so often, when she is counted in, to know that the rounding of a few facial angles, the brightening of a glance, the deepening of color on a cheek, would have made one's outlook on the great, fascinating world so much more lovely—this is to give a girl's heart thoughts that do not often lie too deep for tears.

The Grammar Party was the big event of the year. Students were fined for mistakes in grammar, and the accumulated fund was used for the best party of the season. One hundred and fifty guests attended this party, including the dignitaries of Northwestern University and the Methodist church. But Frances was miserable all evening. Later she declared that she had an unconquerable aversion to conversation with her superiors in age, position, or education. She regretted her timidity, she said, because she knew it meant losing many opportunities for improvement! So she turned to her books with redoubled zest because they, at least, did not "chill her."

Shortly after the unhappy Grammar Party was the president's party. This was at the home of Dr. Randolph S. Foster, president of Northwestern University. It had a happier ending for Frances. Dr. Foster, no doubt sensing the shy sensitiveness of his young guest, made an especial effort to talk to her and put her at her ease. This conversation was the beginning of a long, lasting friendship. But, for the most part, Frances shunned parties, "mixed society," and grown foks. The lonely years on the farm had stifled her. Even two years later, when she went to Kankakee as a teacher, her reticence was the subject of discussion. The editor of the *Kankakee Democrat* reminisced, some years afterward, that Frances was reticent to an extreme degree as if she distrusted her own abilities.

Books had been her friends from the days Oliver went away to college. She had delighted, whenever her father took her to town, to browse around in the village bookstore. So now she sought solace in her books from the stings of social maladjustment. She seems to have been influenced most by the *Memoirs* of Margaret Fuller, which she read while in college, and by Bohn's translation of the classics, especially the works of Plato, which she read avidly during her early teaching days. From Margaret Fuller she took fresh courage, saying: "Here we see what a woman achieved for herself. If she, why not we, by steady toil?"

Shy as Frances was in meeting people, she had no reticence in

participating in school activities. In fact, she seemed to glory in such affairs, because here she shone to advantage. Her interest in books led her to participate in the Minerva Society, a literary organization which fostered debates, poems, and "papers." Frances frequently prepared a poem for these meetings. When the school paper, *The Casket and Budget*, failed, Frances attempted to publish a very informal paper of the same style as the "Fort City Tribune," which she had laboriously printed in childish letters years before on the farm. This school paper was only a single sheet, which she contributed to her classmates upon her own responsibility.[16]

One of the happy events of the first term was participation in the commencement of 1858. As there was only one candidate in the class, Frances and Mary were asked to be on the graduating program. In a gay mood Frances wrote to her father for eighteen dollars to buy dresses for the occasion. But Mr. Willard failed to appreciate the honor conferred on his daughters. His answer could leave no doubt as to his views:

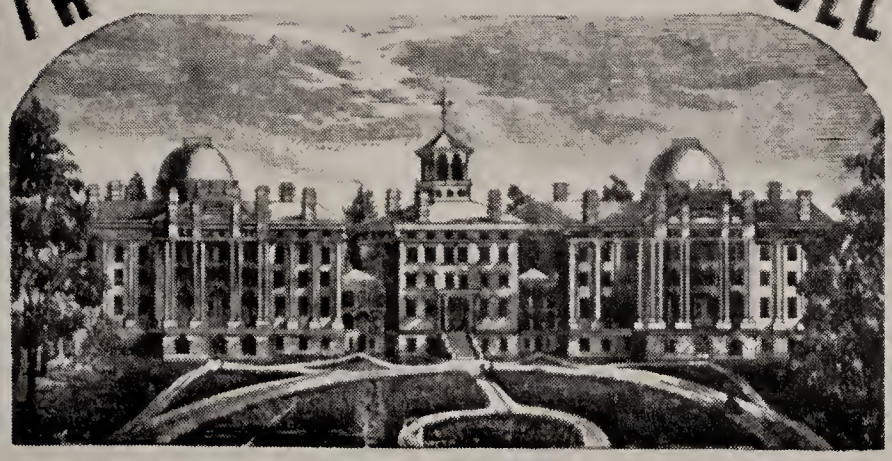
> Frances, your letter of eighteen dollars' notoriety nearly upset my equanimity, and I was on the point of sending for you to come home, but upon second thought concluded to forward six dollars to Miss Dickinson to buy the material for your dresses, which will be amply sufficient, and more too. As for the sashes, I shall buy them here, if necessary. The fact is I have no money. I have sold some wheat for fifty cents a bushel to get money for actual necessaries. Eighteen dollars! My horrors!

But for her own commencement the following year she made great plans. A letter from Oliver, who was graduated from Beloit the same June (1859), fired her jealous heart. He was president of the Archaean Society and had won the second honor in his class—the Latin Oration. As there were only two girls graduating from the North Western Female College, they divided honors between them. Frances chose the Valedictory, and her companion meekly accepted the Salutatory. It was a matter of considerable disappointment to Frances that her mother had forbidden her to study Greek and Latin as Oliver did. She could give, therefore, no Latin oration like him, but the Valedictory was some satisfaction. Despite all her planning for class honor, however, she was taken sick with typhoid fever a few days before commencement so that the Valedictory for the class of 1859 was not given! In her diary she recorded that it was "the disappointment of my life."

SCIENTIFIC DIPLOMA

OF THE

NORTH WESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE.



Know all Men by these Presents.

That, according to the custom of Colleges and Universities throughout the whole world, We, the Trustees, Faculty and Teachers of the

NORTH WESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE,

Located in the Town of Evanston, State of Illinois, do testify that *Francis E. Willard*, *a young lady of high literary talent and fine scholarship*, having faithfully completed the usual College curriculum in **Mathematics, Philosophy and Belles Lettres**, and having undergone a rigid Examination thereon, in obedience to the requirements of the Charter, is hereby fully declared to be an alumnus of this College, with the honorable title

LAUREATE OF SCIENCE,

together with all the privileges, immunities and rights which are accustomarily to be awarded to this literary rank.

In Testimony Whereof, *Witness our hand and the College Seal hereunto appended. Done in the Hall of the North Western Female College. A. D. 1859.*

Trustees: *J. W. Agard, Pres't* *A. P. Stewart* *Tho. Milner* Com.

W. P. Jones, Jr. *President of the Faculty*

Preceptresses: *Mary E. Jones, Lady Principal* *Lydia Clark, Precp. Belles Lettres* *E. A. Eddy, Precp. Nat. Sci. & Mathematics* *Mary Baldwin, Precp. Music*

DIPLOMA OF NORTH WESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE

Frances experienced a series of disappointments in these early years, each appearing at the time the blackest moment of her life. The sale of the melodeon well-nigh crushed her; the departure of Oliver for college was a heart-rending affair; the first time he voted she felt so miserable she wanted to run away; the decision of her father not to send her back to the Milwaukee Female College was the greatest disappointment of her life; the opposition of her mother to the study of classical languages was a great disappointment; and, finally, to miss commencement was the gravest of all these mishaps. All this shows an unusually sensitive nature. Every wind that blew chilled her. She wanted the grace and beauty of Mary and the mind and popularity of Oliver. And always she wanted to lead! She was an unbroken colt, undisciplined, rebellious, opinionated, but determined to learn and achieve.

Her diploma bestowed upon her the "degree" of Laureate of Science. This was not a college degree—only an imitation of one.[17] Yet Frances was by no means deceived. She fully realized that her schooling was inferior to that of Oliver and that the year and a half she had spent at North Western Female College was poor equipment with which to start on a career. Yet she had struggled hard to secure this much education. The rest of the way she now had to go by herself.

CHAPTER IV

Toward a Career

IN THE autumn after graduation, Frances Willard grew restless, despite the happier home life now that Oliver had rejoined the family circle. When she had been so ill with typhoid fever the preceding June, at commencement, that she thought she was going to die, she had made certain promises to herself. As soon as she was able thereafter she wrote in her diary:

> His hand has crushed me, and not without reason, not, I hope, in vain. I shall be twenty years old in September [1859] and I have as yet been of no use in the world. When I recover, when I possess once more a "sound mind in a sound body," I will earn my own living; "pay my own way," and try to be of use in the world. It will—it shall—be better that I did not die!

The determination for financial independence arose because her father continued to be purchasing agent of the family. He believed, as she expressed it, "in the one-purse theory." Therefore, her only means of emancipation was to have her own money. The passing years had made it no easier to wear the bonnets and dresses which he chose for her.

"To be useful in life" had been the philosophy of Margaret Fuller, and she worshiped at her shrine. This ideal was implemented by Oliver, who, after finishing at Beloit College, enrolled at the Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston in preparation for the ministry. Oliver was going to be useful, Oliver was going to be a distinguished citizen of the community! During the long winter months of 1859–60 she pondered the few opportunities open to women, weighing and appraising each from the aspect of financial reward, prestige, and opportunity. She was eager to follow any path which might lead to glory. Through all the years from childhood one ambition remained constant—to be great.

Her early interests as a child had wandered from one attraction to another. When Oliver talked of writing and speaking, she nurtured

secret desires to do the same, even to preaching. So intense was her interest in the platform that for years she secretly aspired to the stage, always reading the amusement columns of the newspapers. After Oliver went away to college, Frances became absorbed in adventure stories, imagining herself the hero winning acclaim —be it Diana of the Hunt or Robin Hood. Later she became so devoted to art that she considered this a career. Months she spent over the drawing board in a flare of ambition to become a great artist. But when her sister Mary became ill for a few weeks, her interest veered to the medical profession. Mary had to endure any number of concoctions which Frances called "poultices." To be a great doctor suddenly became her ambition. But in time this was forgotten. Some years later she wanted to be a world traveler, especially after one of her friends went to Europe.

Never did she weary of reading about the important people of her day. At the time when she was perplexed about a career she was attracted most to Anna Dickinson, the glamorous girl-orator of the sixties who captivated Congress. Frances wanted to meet people like Anna, but she realized that only by being "somebody" herself could this be accomplished. Her career, therefore, must be dignified and must offer the opportunity for distinction. She wanted most of all to write; but, as the financial returns from this occupation were not very promising and as the conflict with her father continued, she resolved to leave home. Teaching, therefore, seemed to offer the best opportunity for financial independence, usefulness, and fame. Yet the decision to teach was made without any enthusiasm, for this profession lacked the adventure, color, and fascination of which she had always dreamed. When she announced to her father that she was going to teach school, he sternly disapproved. Girls in the 1860's did not leave comfortable homes to earn a living.

After coming to Evanston in 1858, Willard had entered a partnership with S. A. Kean, a Chicago banker, and was now in moderate financial circumstances. He felt humiliated that his daughter should want to defy convention by leaving his protection before she should marry and move into her own home. He did not comprehend that all her life Frances had felt stifled by his conservatism and that now her individualism longed for freedom of expression. In May, 1860, she wrote:

In all these twenty years, although I have graduated after a fashion, I never spent four years in school, and I was trained to live outdoors as much as possible, I have never been out in the world, have had no care or trouble, no grief worth mentioning . . . . nor any love affair to sober me. I must get my discipline in a rougher school than most young ladies do. I see clearly that I shall never be the grown-up person that I ought to be until I have borne sorrows and had cares.

If I become a teacher in some school that I do not like, if I go away alone and try what I can do and suffer, and am tired and lonesome; if I am in a position where I must have all the responsibility myself and must be alternately the hammer that strikes and the anvil that bears, but always one of them, I think I may grow strong and earnest in practice, as I have always tried to be in theory.

Several weeks after writing these lines Frances started her career in a shabby, one-room country school at Harlem, Illinois. This was the poorest school in the county, but it was so late in the season that it was the only place available until autumn. Having finally made her decision, she wanted to begin at once. Harlem was about ten miles west of Chicago and at that time was little more than a mudhole, although today it is a fashionable suburb known as River Forest.

On the first day of school some twenty-seven pupils came, all of them in a rebellious, mutinous mood. The older boys had the reputation of running out every teacher who had been sent to them, and they were prepared for another exhibition of their skill. These were immigrant children, mostly of German and Irish stock, who prided themselves on being tough! Miss Willard opened the school by reading from her pocket Testament in the manner Mr. Hodge had used years before at the district school in Janesville. After the reading she led them in singing, "I Want To Be an Angel!" One rather suspects she selected this song in a moment of malicious humor, but the children sang it, nevertheless, with great gusto. The opening ceremonies being concluded, she lost no time in asserting her prerogatives as "teacher." Grabbing the worst offender, a youth of sixteen much taller than herself, by the nape of the neck she whipped him in full view of the class. He vainly struggled to twist himself free of her grip to reassert his supremacy. The contest between the squirming boy and the determined little teacher must have been an exciting spectacle, but the roomful of gaping youngsters was awe-struck. Other boys took warning. Discipline was es-

tablished. Within a few days she had brought the school under control and maintained a fairly even routine of work.

Teaching such a diverse school also had its difficulty. Five of the twenty-seven were of kindergarten age, three were in their teens, and the remainder "somewhere in between." To this motley group she attempted to teach botany, history, algebra, arithmetic, and grammar. She even tried to enliven the dulness of the work by such novel experiments as gymnastics. Not many schools at this time had introduced it; Frances had learned about physical exercise at the Milwaukee Female College. To arouse the lagging interest of the pupils she made special assignments, such as gathering flowers to learn their parts or memorizing the names of rulers in foreign countries. Other unique features which she introduced at this time were map-drawing as a means to accuracy and vowel-chanting as a method of clear-cut articulation. For a fresh recruit to the profession she displayed unusual patience and versatility. She even combined a little missionary work along with her professional duties. Since there was neither a church nor a Sunday school in the village, she opened the shanty schoolhouse each week for Sunday school. This humble project continued after she had left the village and later developed into the Methodist Church of River Forest.

Successful as was the first venture of her career, it was by no means a happy one. She keenly missed the family hearthstone and the gay friends who were continually running in to see her, Oliver, or Mary. In February (1860) Frances had organized the Iota Omega, which was a literary society of the young women of the village. Frances was president. The subject of their first debate was: "That the husband and wife are equal in power."[1] There was life and sparkle in Evanston, with her house becoming the center of much gaiety. Three attractive young people of about the same age in a college community were naturally a magnet of social festivity. Harlem, by contrast, was a drab village, sparsely populated and that mostly by foreigners. Moreover, the conditions under which she worked were unpleasant and annoying. With every hard downpour of rain the roof leaked, and the water dribbled down upon her desk. Even the flowers which the children piled high upon her desk as their tribute of love for her did not lessen the dreariness of her miserable surroundings. Completely a person of moods, she became melancholy, writing in her diary: "Alas! for me the time even now

is when I must make comfort to myself out of the roses and lilies instead of friends and home." These weeks all but broke her resolve for an independent career. At the end of the first week (June 5, 1860) she wrote:

> My head aches as badly as my heart tonight. Somehow I am afraid I cannot bear it. Father came out from the city—it is only ten miles, though it seems a hundred—to bring me a bundle. I took it and turned away saying in answer to his half cheerful, half sad words, "keep up a brave heart and don't let it discourage you," "Goodbye, father, I am not afraid," but the tears blinded me so I could hardly see to go back to my teacher's desk again, and yet the people here don't know. These rough school directors don't dream that I am not exactly in ecstasy although I am teaching "their deestrict."

But, despite the drabness and the heartache and the tears, she stuck it out. Tenacity of purpose was one of her most dominant characteristics. When the term was over she gratefully returned to her home in Evanston, having received her baptism in character-building and financial independence. Frances had found the routine of teaching very trying. Her carefree spirit had not been disciplined. She confessed to feeling tied to a "bell-rope" and explained that she changed her school frequently in the vain hope that each new place would lessen the tedium of routine. Always seeking the promised land of opportunity, which like a mirage seemed continually to disappear into the distance beyond, she changed teaching positions ten times in twelve years. These teaching years were filled with the vicissitudes of discouragements, disappointments, and everlasting hope.

Although she was miserably unhappy during the weeks at Harlem, it did not deter her from setting out in the autumn for a new position. Their old neighbor and friend, C. B. Woodruff, who had been the superintendent of the Wisconsin Institute for the Education of the Blind at Janesville, had opened a preparatory school at Kankakee, Illinois. After her experience at Harlem, Frances had written to him for a teaching position, which was promptly given to her. With the stoicism of an ancient Roman she set her face that autumn toward Kankakee. She said: "I have come to believe that it is well for us, well for our characters, those beautiful fabrics we are weaving every day, to do those things that do not make us happy, but only make us strong." With suppressed tears she firmly

bade her family goodbye on September 30, 1860, and set forth on another adventure in her career.

This position was far superior to the assignment at Harlem. Here she taught older students in graded classes, which made instruction much simpler; and she was spared the arduous task of discipline because Mr. Woodruff handled unruly cases. Her teaching program was pleasant and included philosophy, drawing, grammar, and reading. Nor was her life here drab. There were many merry evenings when faculty and friends gathered around the piano in the Woodruff home to sing old songs and ballads. She loved to sing—that had been one of the bright spots during the years on the farm. Whistling, too, she enjoyed, and often she and Mr. Woodruff gratified their friends by a whistling-duet.[2] There were other gay evenings playing chess, especially with a young man whom she designated only as "Frank N.," although she confessed to playing a good deal of chess. Her first invitation to a dance came while she was in Kankakee, presumably from "Frank N.," but it was firmly declined. Dancing was strictly banned by the Willard family. To one brought up in her strict environment the invitation was little short of an insult!

But "Frank N." only helped to fill in dull winter evenings. Her real interest was in a young man in Evanston, a classmate of her brother's at Garrett Theological Seminary, who visited her several times in Kankakee. After the bleak weeks she spent at Harlem these lighter days at Kankakee should have been most welcome, yet she seemed little happier in this environment than she had on the desolate prairie. By early December she wrote in her diary: "And thus my life goes on, my poor makeshift of a life. I am more sick of it than my best friends can tell."

She thoroughly disliked Kankakee and said it was the most irreligious community she had ever lived in. Evanston, it must be remembered, was a Methodist community so that from farm to village Frances had never breathed the free air of nonsectarianism. Furthermore, this was her probationary period in the church. She had joined the Methodist Church of Evanston on January 19, 1860, as a probationary member, but she did not enter into full enjoyment of membership until May 5, 1861. Thus the autumn of 1860 when she was in Kankakee found her earnestly endeavoring to live up to all the rules of the church.

Frances was perplexed and distressed by the fact that some of these irreligious people whom she met were kindly, delightful persons. This was a revelation to her. She had never supposed that there could be nice folk outside the pale of the church; how could she reconcile it with the fact that non-Christian people could be so very pleasant! Life at Kankakee was bewildering, and the work hard with "much unjust criticism." She again longed to be in the quiet firelight glow of the family hearth. Christmas brought her release. With a gleeful heart she packed her trunk to go home for the holidays never to return to the ungodly town of Kankakee.

During the early spring months of 1861 Frances remained at home recovering from her lonely experience. Although twenty-one years old, she was still a child, still immature, which is not surprising in the light of her limited education and experience. Yet the childish letter she wrote to Dora Smith in February of this year is amazing. Not a word did she say about her work or her ambitions, nothing but silly twaddle about their friendship. A few sentences suffice to illustrate: "Young woman! I'm half a mind to 'enact jealousy,' you've sent Mary your picture, but all my 'intercessions at court' have failed to obtain for me a like felicity. Now if you's 'keep the peace' and the Union (you know its endangered sufficiently already! you'll send me one of those 'cute' little photographs (aren't they?) instanter, please lay this admonition to heart." Thus she ripened slowly. As she had once intuitively said, she was to develop only by sorrow, love, disappointment, and struggle.

Again growing restless at home, she taught the spring term, beginning in April, at the Harlem school. This was the month that hostilities began between the North and South, shocking the nation into the reality of war. Oliver enlisted in the Evanston unit, and Frances wanted either to be a nurse or to do active duty in the Sanitary Commission. Parental objections overruled her desire, and she continued with her teaching. Oliver's health prevented his going to the front. Hence the war never came close to her. Although her conduct might be severely criticized, a girl in her early twenties can hardly be expected to concern herself with the destiny of unseen armies. Besides, this was the spring she fell in love. Despite the distant rumbling of the guns this June of 1861, the world became to her shining bright with the happiness of romance. She pledged her troth to Charles Fowler, a young Methodist minister

and Oliver's classmate. The wonderful event happened in dreary Harlem. Her diary, since destroyed, gave the simple story of the engagement:

> Much to my surprise and delight Mr. Fowler and Oliver came by the 9 o'clock train on Saturday evening, the former to preach, the latter to visit. The Sabbath, June 2, was the dearest, holiest day of all the days I've lived. Charlie and I talked on the piazza all the morning.
>
> In the afternoon he preached—very finely, it is almost superfluous to say. He looked splendidly in the pulpit (or rather the desk of the little school-house where I've spent many days, very long and very lonely). After church and after tea he asked me to go walking. Coming back—I don't know how it was—it is all like a beautiful dream—he told me that he loved me—that "I was the first and last and only one." And with no fear, no shrinking, I told him I had always loved him—that it seemed so natural to me, as if there was nothing else I could do except that.
>
> I am happy now. The loneliness doesn't trouble, the school doesn't weary, the annoyances have lost their power. Under them all is the consciousness that he does care.[3]

So at last had come contentment. Thoughts of her independent career vanished.

Charles Fowler was a gifted man whom she might well be proud of—a man certain to win renown. He was the young pastor of a Chicago church which he was to build into one of the largest in the city. After the Chicago Fire he was to become president of Northwestern University and later a bishop of the Methodist church. He had a brilliant mind and was a talented orator. His strength and power must have been apparent to her even at this time, foreshadowing a brilliant future and a life of serenity, charm, and happiness. When she left Harlem that summer she decided to remain at home to prepare for her wedding, which presumably was to take place in the early spring of 1862. But by midwinter something had happened; the glamour had faded and the engagement was broken. In April she again resumed her struggle for an independent career.

Frances' explanation of her broken engagement was that she had mistaken intellectual admiration for something deeper. But, as she had known him for several years before the bethrothal and the engagement lasted eight months, this hardly seems valid. During these months, moreover, she saw him constantly. In November she wrote Dora, "Charlie is pastor of a church in Chicago and I shall see him often, so I feel a sense of peace." Many interesting stories

have been told as to why the engagement was broken, although it is doubtful if any one of them offers the true explanation.

One of these stories was that as both her father and sister had consumption she feared to marry lest she would contaminate her children. It is doubtful, however, if she considered the condition either of her father or of her sister at this time at all serious. Consumption is a tricky disease, and the patient frequently appears in fairly good health until near the end. Neither her father nor Mary had reached this stage then, so there was no reason for her concern. Another frequently told story was that Charles questioned her social ability to fill the position of a minister's wife. But this also seems most unlikely. He was a very close friend of her brother, the two young men had gone to Garrett Biblical Institute together, and he had been a frequent guest in their home. Moreover, the family had very good standing in the community, her mother and father both being quite active in church and civic affairs. Therefore, he had known the family, their friends, and their standing in the community long before he asked Frances to marry him.

A somewhat more plausible story than either of these was that he "tested" her love. The account goes that one evening he told her he felt called to go to the mission fields of China and asked her if she loved him enough to go with him. The thought of leaving her mother and sister to go so far away rather staggered her, and she asked for time to think it over. The next few days and nights she spent in tortured debate with herself, torn between love for him and love for her family. She finally came to the rather logical conclusion that if she loved him enough to marry him she should be willing to go with him wherever need be. When he called on that fateful evening for her answer, she told him of her great decision to go with him whithersoever he would; but he laughingly replied that he had "just been testing her love." Such colossal vanity hurt and shocked her; it revealed such a lack of sympathetic understanding. Yet it is hardly likely that one single instance of this kind would have been sufficient to alienate her affections, although it may indicate something of the character of the man.

He was strong, virile, dominating, and determined. She was strong, stubborn, and opinionated. From childhood she had resented the domination of her father, so it is quite likely that she was a little frightened when her fiancé showed similar inclinations.

Charles Fowler, like most men of his day, had very definite ideas about women, their place, and their duties. He disapproved of women in public life, he disapproved of women's voting, and he disapproved of the other liberal ideas then being fomented.[4] Although it is doubtful if Frances had thought out the woman question at this time, she was a rebellious soul and must have instinctively resented more and more his masculine approach to life.

Although Charles married another, he did not forget her. When his wife died a few years later, he again pleaded with Frances to marry him. The second rebuff mortified his high spirit. He never forgave her and never missed an opportunity thereafter to strike back at her.

Meantime Frances had picked up the lines of her work. How bruised she was from the experience no one knows, although one may surmise that she, too, was hurt. Whatever her disappointment, however, she returned to teaching in April, 1862. A public school was just getting launched in Evanston, in which she fortunately found a place. The next few months she immersed herself in her school work. She taught six classes a day and spent her spare time in study and preparation. It was a fatiguing experience. Each nightfall found her exhausted as she dragged her weary body home after the toilsome day.

In June came another tragedy, the death of her sister Mary. Up until several weeks before the end her recovery seemed assured, and then, suddenly, they realized she was in the last stage of tuberculosis. On June 8, 1862, the lovely little sister made the long journey to that Unknown Land. She was a beautiful, sweet, simple creature, loved by all who knew her; and she was the idol of her family.

Whereas Mr. Willard's stern religion had made Frances rebellious, it had made Mary, even as a child, morbid and introspective. She constantly feared that she was doing wrong, that she was offending God. As her imagined misdeeds preyed upon her mind, Frances suggested they apologize to one another each evening. The idea appealed strongly to Mary as in this way she could clear her conscience every night. The elliptical formula ran, "I ask your forgiveness and thank you" and the response was "I freely forgive you and welcome." A few hours before she died this old childhood ceremony was repeated, and Mary admonished Frances to tell

"everybody to be good." Puritan goodness had become an obsession with her. During the last tragic hours of Mary's life the religious zeal of the Willards was medieval in its barbarity. Mary had a horror of dying, but as her last hours drew near, Mr. Willard felt it incumbent upon him to tell her of her fate. Then the family gathered close around her as they questioned her concerning the experience of dying. "Do you see the Christ?" they asked. "Is He close to you?" "Is He coming closer?" "My darling, you will meet us, won't you, at the Beautiful Gate?" Such were their eager questions while she was trying to make them understand that she wished them to be careful not to bury her alive!

Gruesome as this deathbed scene is to contemplate, there is no doubt about their devotion to her. But religion had warped their viewpoint. In their eagerness to gain a glimpse of heaven they lost their immediate concern for her. Yet they were all grief-stricken by her death and cast into the deepest melancholy. Frances especially became gloomy and morbid. The previous June had been her engagement month when her happiness seemed so secure. Now she was cast down into the dismal depth of blackest despair.

But life must go on. Again Frances turned to her profession. Her old friends at the North Western Female College offered her the position of preceptress of natural sciences. Gratefully she accepted this new post. The family suddenly seemed to disintegrate: Mrs. Willard made a prolonged visit to Churchville, New York; Oliver married Mary Bannister, moving to Colorado shortly thereafter; and Mr. Willard took rooms in Chicago close to his work. The home, Swampscott, was rented. Lonely and miserable, Frances wrote in her diary that for the first time in her life she had "no home." She had moved into the college dormitory. There followed days of the utmost weariness, days crowded with work which sapped her strength and vitality. Before the end of the first month she wrote in her diary:

> Rose a little after six . . . . conducted devotions in the chapel; heard advanced class in arithmetic, one in geometry, one in elementary algebra, one on Wilson's "Universal History"; . . . . dined, rose from the table to take charge of an elocution class, next zoology, next geology, next physiology, next minerology, then came upstairs and sat down in my rocking chair as one who would prefer to rise no more! Now I have tomorrow's lessons to go over.

The work, homesickness, and the sorrow of Mary's death all combined to produce an acute case of melancholia. By Christmas she was sick in bed and running a fever.

Mrs. Simpson, wife of the bishop, heard of her plight and decided upon a plan of action. Calling upon Frances, she exclaimed that it was ridiculous for her to remain in one village all her life, for her to pack her trunk and be ready to leave for Pittsburgh within a week. What she told her husband, who was president of the Board of Trustees of the Pittsburgh Female College (a Methodist school) was not recorded, but a place for Frances on the faculty was promptly made. She took up her new duties there shortly after the first of the year 1863.

The Emancipation proclaimed by Lincoln on January 1, 1863, did much to waken Frances from the lethargy she had fallen into after Mary's death. Old ambitions stirred to life. She consecrated herself anew to some humanitarian project, to some useful purpose in life. The greatness of Lincoln's act in setting the slaves free made her feel her own obscurity and her own lack of accomplishments all the more keenly, and therefore she renewed her determination to achieve something. She asked herself why she should go on teaching forever, now here, now there, and then elsewhere. How could she be content to go on with such a hedged-in life and a position so humble. "You have abilities for something beyond this," she told her diary. "Don't cheat yourself out of your rights." As a definite goal for the coming year she decided to write a biography of her sister. With renewed hope and resolutions she set out for Pittsburgh.

The fresh atmosphere, the new friends, and the stimulation of her work all helped to assuage her grief. Although she was continually thinking about Mary, the "stunning weight" was not so great. She still, however, wore mourning. It was at this time also that she began wearing glasses because the smoke and soot of the city hurt her eyes. As a result of the glasses and the dress, her appearance underwent a decided change, and she grimly wondered if her students in Evanston would now recognize her. Nevertheless, she was decidedly popular with the students. It was not surprising, then, that at the conclusion of the term she should be called into the president's office and commended for good work. He asked her to return to Pittsburgh in the autumn.

Early in July, 1863, she returned to Evanston and was pathetical-

ly glad to be back home. She wrote in her diary: "Thank God for my safe return." All during her stay in Pittsburgh she had been contemplative of death, doubting her own life's expectancy and yet shuddering at the thought of sharing Mary's fate. Morbid, frightened at death, she was sincerely thankful and somewhat surprised to have reached home again both alive and well.

While in Pittsburgh she had kept her resolution to begin work on a biography of Mary; and now that she was free of teaching she plunged into its writing with all her energy. The Willards had moved back into Swampscott, so the house, the garden with its shrubs and trees, all had memories of Mary. Into this thin volume Frances poured out her grief, her love, and her longing for the departed sister. It was, in fact, a psychological outlet for her pent-up emotions. The story so tenderly written she called *Nineteen Beautiful Years*. It was not a masterpiece of literature or biography, but it was a masterpiece of devotion. When the manuscript was finished she wanted to go East to see about publication, but her father refused to give her the money because he considered the trip ridiculous. Indeed, he had disapproved of the book from the beginning. Not to be defeated, Frances went to a neighbor, Edwin Haskin, and borrowed one hundred dollars. Placing herself under the protection of one of her father's friends, T. C. Hoag, who was making a business trip East at this time, she started on her journey.

It was the loveliest time of the year for such a jaunt, being the last of September. This was her first real trip, and she was as excited as any schoolgirl notwithstanding the borrowed money and parental disapproval. Going first to Niagara Falls, Frances gloried in the beauty of the landscape. She romped joyously, running through the ravines, along the cliff, and into the caverns. She felt again the old reckless spirit she had had at Forest Home. Niagara fascinated her so much she was loath to leave for New York. Arriving in the metropolis after nightfall, Frances' first view of the city was Broadway by lamplight. She was entranced. For the next few days the great city seemed fashioned like a Chinese toy for her special amusement. Her companion humored her in sightseeing, too. Together they visited Grace Church, Trinity Steeple, Castle Garden, Barnum's, Wall Street, and that most forbidden place of all to good Methodists—the theater. Although she had read the amusement column with avidity all her young life, she had never seen

a play, but now that she was in New York she was determined to go. She argued with her companion that they were among strangers so no one would know if they went, and, moreover, it was a good play. He agreed with her that there could be no harm in such a lark and accordingly bought the tickets. So these wayfaring Evanstonians went to the theater feeling safe from criticizing neighbors and fellow-Methodists. To their consternation they found other good Evanston Methodists there who had the same feeling of security. But this fact did not keep either of them from thoroughly enjoying the play, *Rosedall or the Rifle-boy*. Lester Wallack, a leading actor of the day, was the star. Frances was enthralled and called it "an evening of wonder and delight."

About a week after they had arrived in New York City, Mr. Willard came, feeling considerable chagrin over the whole episode. Fortunately, Frances had already been to the theater, since her father might not have been so tractable as the kind neighbor. It should be recorded that this was the only time in her life that she attended the theater in this country. When she was in Europe she went a number of times to the theater and the opera, but her Puritan conscience flayed her for such frivolity. Mr. Willard at once took charge of his daughter; and after the business on which she came East had been accomplished he took her on an extended tour of New England, where they visited ancestral shrines.

Her destination was the home of Dr. Randolph S. Foster, formerly president of Northwestern University and now pastor of the Methodist Church at Sing Sing, New York. Frances wanted him to read her biography. Dr. Foster liked her story of Mary and promised to see his friends at Harper and Brothers. The publishers agreed to print the book upon his recommendation if he wrote a Preface. Frances was elated over this success. She and her father then set out to tour the countryside. From Boston she wrote the following letter to her mother. At last she had shaken off the melancholia which had gripped her since Mary's death.

Boston, Mass. Oct. 17, 1863

My dear Mother—

My will has been good enough to have secured for your reading the best letter that I could write, but tongue cannot utter the tossed state of mind in which I have been ever since I left quiet little Evanston. You, of all the world, will have charity and exercise (?) long suffering to-me-ward. Yet

I would not presume nor impose upon your kindness. But I feel it to be impossible to give you even a faint idea of all my happiness since we said good-bye. Suffice it that life is brimming with me, nowadays. More comes to pass in an hour than a whole day—almost a week—used to bring to me.

To be a little systematic,—I have to say 1st of my book. It is by this time in the hands of Harper & Brothers, I hope, for examination. Dr. Foster knows them intimately, was formerly their pastor, and is very sanguine of success for me. Keep the whole matter a secret from everyone but Minerva. I shall be advised of the decision as soon as it takes place and shall try again if necessary. The Fosters have been splendid to me. I spent a whole week there and was treated royally by them all. I enjoyed myself exceedingly. Annie is matchless as an entertainer (I almost said an entertainment!) Her wit is pleasanter than ever. They are all in excellent "condition." The Dr. has "realized" fifteen thousand dollars from his patents and retains a third interest in their proceeds. He explained the invention at great length to me without dreaming that I was as wise before he began as after he finished, dear man! He has invented and patended ten kinds of locks, destined beyond doubt to supercede all other, so it is said. They were all interested greatly in Mary and the book. Mrs. F. said M. was always her favorite of all the girls of E. and the prettiest one there. On Sunday P.M. (a week ago tomorrow) I read aloud to the family and some visitors, extracts from her Journal and the account of her sickness and death. Everybody in the room was in tears. Little Willie Foster came in and after looking wonderingly around, asked his elder brother in a whisper "if they were having a funeral"?

I have a great deal to tell you about the Fosters, the State Prison, my acquaintance? with the "veiled murderess" who made such a sensation, years ago, and the present she made me of a sewing basket of her own manufacture. Also of Katie K. and her kindness to me, my visit at Staten Island, the glorious sail through the New York Bay, my first sight of the ocean, through "the narrows" with Fort Lafayette obscuring the view. My observations on the Russian fleet, my visit to Greenwood where I got an ivy leaf and some box for you, to the Central Park, Barnums, to the Historical Society's room (where, tell Minerva I saw Dr. Abbott's famous collection of Oriental antiquities), to Goussils, Brady's, and so forth and so on. My sensations are whizzing into New England, sacred land, yesterday afternoon my disgust at being in New Haven in a dark depot hedged in from sight of the college, my view of New London with its numerous fishing boats and the great blue sea stretching far away, my ride through Rhode Island in the dark, my great days work, just done, comprising a tour up on Bunker Hill monument (I had one of the most amusing adventures of my life here!), my ride to Cambridge, view of Harvard Uni-

versity Buildings, Mount Auburn, and so forth. Boston Commons, State House, Beacon Street, Oh, I can't tell you. It's wonderful. We'll talk it over! I think sorrowfully of poor, dear Aunt Church. Boston of all cities yet is captivating to me. It just suits and I'll live here yet! I'm very sorry you are not enjoying all this, too, and am not unmindful of your unselfishness. Father is very well and in good spirits. We are going to Vermont. Don't know when, yet, I hope to see Mary Rose first. Mother, don't speak to anybody or mention to father the Pershing proposition. I'm undecided as yet and don't want to be thorned on the subject. Tell Minerva I think Helen is sure of the H. school, for all w. I don't think anything bad of her opinion regarding Pitts. Shall decide when I hear certainly from my book. I disregard the gentlemen you mention! Please give my love to Minerva. Tell her I'd write but am desperately tired. She will appreciate. My letters to you are her common property, poor things that they are! You'll know that if I didn't get so tired sight-seeing I'd write longer and better letters. To-morrow father and I hope to hear Father Taylor, who was so kind to Aunt C. I'm glad he is getting acquainted. Love and the kind remembrances to "Alflow," Cynthia and Tillie.

Your loving daughter,

FRANK

A few weeks later (1863) she returned to Pittsburgh to resume her teaching. The exact date at which she returned or the exact length of time she remained there is difficult to determine. In her autobiography she said that she taught two-thirds of that year. She wrote to her parents on January 5, 1864, detailing her reception at the school and stating that she had begun her teaching duties that day. The other applicant for the position had been rejected, so there was no longer any doubt but that it was "goodbye home-folks until June." She had been given an excellent teaching program of history, geography, and elocution, which allowed time for her own further study. From the account of herself in this letter she made the most of the opportunity presented. Already she had started the study of German with a "native teacher" and a discussion of mental philosophy each evening with one of her professors and his wife. For literary improvement she had organized a reading society. A series of forthcoming lectures had attracted her attention and promised rich enjoyment. On the list, she stated, were John B. Gough, Henry Ward Beecher, and Anna Dickinson. All in all, Frances anticipated a winter in which she should learn more than in any previous period of her life.

Thus during her second sojourn in Pittsburgh Frances widened her orbit. It was a period of marked intellectual growth. As ambition again surged within her, demanding an outlet, she attempted to write some essays. But these never were printed. Yet these early months of 1864 marked the first definite development since she had left school five years before. She was beginning to live intellectually.

For some reason she did not plan to return to Pittsburgh that autumn but sought a position in Evanston. Mr. Edwin Haskin, the man who had loaned her the money to go East, had opened a private school for his six children and those of his friends a year previously. It was called the Grove Street School. The winter of 1864–65 Frances took charge of the school and employed three other teachers to help her. Under her imaginative direction the school became the talk of the town, with the result that all parents in the vicinity wanted to send their child to her. The village school board, however, was attempting to build up a public school system, which this private school was disrupting. They asked, therefore, that it be closed in the public interest. In June, 1866, accordingly, this flourishing little school was abruptly ended. Thus Frances was forced to look for a new position. Sad as was the closing of the Grove Street School, it led to the best position she had ever obtained—preceptress of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, New York.

Meanwhile, affairs at home had gone awry. In the spring of 1865 Mr. Willard decided that the memories of Mary at Swampscott were too vivid to be endured longer and that the place must be sold. Forest Home, the farm at Janesville, had been sold soon after her death in 1862. It had been a tug of the heart to see the old farm go, but nothing compared to the sale of Swampscott. Mother and daughter pleaded with him not to do it, for to them the memories of Mary only doubly endeared the place. Moreover, it was beautifully situated on the lake front in the most desirable section of the village, now designated as the southeast corner of Judson Avenue and Church Street. This had been their first home in Evanston and the scene of innumerable gay parties in which Mary and Oliver had also shared. Many of the trees and shrubs in the garden had been brought from Forest Home, and other shrubs had been set out and nurtured by hands now vanished. Thus the place was sacred to mother and daughter by a hundred tokens of the happy past.

But Mr. Willard felt differently about it. Accordingly, the property was sold in the spring of 1865. But, to add to the grief of his womenfolk, Mr. Willard insisted on disposing of their furniture as well. Some of it they had carted from Churchville, taking it with them to Oberlin and then to Janesville. There were antique pieces which both Frances and her mother prized highly but which Mr. Willard felt spoke all too eloquently of Mary. Over their vigorous protests he sold their household goods. Frances characterized this action as "one of the most surprising things on record." Not only did he sell the furniture, but much of it he auctioned off, and he distributed around Evanston large broadsides announcing the sale.

The photostat of the broadside on page 66 is especially interesting for the notation by Frances Willard on the lower left-hand corner. Characteristically careless of dates, she placed the sale in 1862, notwithstanding that the date in the poster clearly states the sale to be May 12, 1865.

It was also during this year of 1865 that Mr. Willard severed his partnership with S. A. Kean, probably because of ill health. He did not again engage in business but devoted his time to the new home and to church and civic affairs. He secured an entire block of land from the university on a ninety-nine-year lease at a bargain price but located in what was then a most undesirable location. This was marshland which had been rejected by other Evanstonians as an unhealthy place to live. Mother and daughter were thoroughly dismayed at living in this section of the village, although it was only a block from the university campus. Nevertheless, it was here that Mr. Willard decided to build their new home. He proceeded to have the land cleared of the trees and underbrush and even had the clump of white poplars, which were the only things Frances loved about the place, cut down. With angry tears running down her face she upbraided her father one day for his brutal action. He retorted that she was a silly little fool to make such a fuss over trees of inferior quality. For each tree cut down, he announced, he would plant an elm tree. While these elms today are a majestic monument to his memory, Frances preferred the charming white poplars to the elm-whips. About Christmas time (1865) they moved into the new cottage in the marshland with all the new furniture he had bought to go with it. It was not a happy Christmas, that year, for any one of them.

Mr. Willard was destined to live only three more years, which he spent mostly in making the new home livable. He planted flowers and shrubs of great variety and made improvements on the house.

AUCTION SALE

—OF—

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

The subscriber will sell at Auction, at his Residence, near the Baptist Church,

IN EVANSTON

On Friday, the 12th day of May, 1865,

HIS ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, CONSISTING OF

1 PIANO FORTE.
1 HAIR CLOTH SOFA,
6 " PARLOR CHAIRS,
1 " ROCKER.
2 CENTRE TABLES.
1 Doz. DINING CHAIRS.
1 " WINDSOR "
WASH BUREAUS,
2 LOUNGES,
1 CHAMBER SETT, Rosewood, fine, and new
WARDROBES and CUPBOARDS.
1 very large Black Walnut BOOK CASE.
6 Black Walnut and other BEDSTEADS.
1 very large and fine EXTENSION DINING TABLE.
6 or 8 CARPETS---1 fine Brussels, not soiled---1 Matting Carpet----Rag and Hemp Carpeting.

TABLES. STANDS. WASH STANDS,
8 or 9 STOVES & PIPE. for coal & wood
2 COOKING STOVES,
CROCKERY. CLOCKS,
1-2 doz. MIRRORS---some large.
WASH TUBS,
STONE WARE,
lot of BUTTER CROCKS.
WASH TUBS,
COOKING UTENSILS.
KNIVES and FORKS.
SAD IRONS, &c., &c.
STABLE and GARDEN TOOLS,
1 GOOD, NEW MILCH COW.
1 DEMOCRAT WAGON,
1 TOP BUGGY, HARNESS. BUFFALO SKIN, SADDLE, BRIDLE, MARTINGALES. HALTER---nearly new,

AND ALL SORTS OF HOUSEKEEPING "TRAPS" TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION.

In the meantime, all persons wishing to purchase, are invited to call and examine the articles, and get good bargains.

J. F. WILLARD.

Sale of our
Lake Side Home
Evanston - 1862

THE WILLARD AUCTION SALE

His life centered more and more around this little cottage as his span of years rapidly shortened. But in his effort to heal the ache of the untimely death of Mary by abolishing all symbols of the past he brought added unhappiness to his wife and daughter.

The year 1865–66 marked an important milestone. Frances was named the corresponding secretary of the American Methodist Ladies Centenary Association. The significance of this office was that it brought her for the first time a little recognition both in Evanston and throughout the nation. The Methodist General Conference had proclaimed the year 1866 as the centennial to celebrate the establishment of Methodism in the United States. The financial agent of Garrett Biblical Institute, Rev. James S. Smart, saw in the centenary a splendid opportunity to secure some money for his institution. He had no doubt been impressed by the work of the women during the Civil War and now wished to make use of their potential ability by enlisting Methodist women for Garrett. Accordingly, he called a meeting of Evanston women in September, 1865, to tell them of his plan. Garrett, he said, needed a new building, which should be a home for the "Sons of the Prophets" while pursuing their sacred studies. He thought such a building would be "a nice contribution for the women to make as their centenary celebration." He recounted the story of Barbara Heck, "Foundress of American Methodism," promising that the new dormitory would be called "Heck Hall" in honor of Barbara and the Methodist women of America. The women agreed it was a nice idea! Under Rev. Smart's sponsorship the women present organized the American Methodist Ladies Centenary Association.

Frances Willard was chosen corresponding secretary at a trifling salary—so trifling that she could not afford to devote all her time to the project but had to continue her teaching at the Grove School. The principal part of her work was raising money, which was largely accomplished by selling memberships in the association. These memberships ranged in price from one to one thousand dollars. A beautifully engraved certificate was sent to each subscribing member with her name and the amount of her donation on it.[5] A surprising number of these certificates were proudly displayed in Methodist homes even twenty years afterward, and Frances frequently found them in places she visited.

Frances wrote numerous articles for such religious papers as the *Advocate* and *Zion's Herald* and sent out eight thousand letters to the wives of Methodist ministers. The association succeeded in raising about $30,000. Heck Hall was accordingly built, and the American Methodist Ladies Centenary Association, having fulfilled its pur-

pose, "passed out of sight and out of mind." But when the building was dedicated, strangely enough, the women were not permitted on the platform. This was against the convention of the


Frances E. Willard,
Corresponding Sec'y
Evanston, Illinois.

American Methodist Ladies
CENTENARY 1866 ASSOCIATION.

Evanston,

Dear Sister:-

Believing that you will labor efficiently and willingly in its behalf, the American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association commissions me to address you. It desires me to suggest that you secure the coöperation of the pastor - requesting him to read the Appeal from his pulpit and to urge his congregation to give it a generous response; - also that at sewing societies and other meetings of the ladies, the Subject be discussed and means devised for securing as many contributions as possible.
The importance of appointing persons to Solicit Subscriptions will readily occur to you.
It is hoped that all ladies connected with, or friendly to our Church, will become members of the Association and that, in many instances, this may be only preparatory to munificent contributions. Please send in names and subscriptions as rapidly as possible, and certificates will be promptly returned.
Hoping for an early and encouraging reply, I am

Yours Sincerely,
Frances E. Willard.

LETTER OF THE AMERICAN METHODIST LADIES

day. So a man read the speech which Frances Willard was able to write. Ten years later she was constantly speaking in public and twenty years later was accounted the foremost woman speaker in America, attracting crowds of three to five thousand persons in the

larger places where she spoke. The man who read her speech that day remained a nonentity except to the small circle in which he lived. Such is the strange way of convention. Her work in the association, however, had made Frances Willard known to thousands of people throughout the country—people who remembered her when she became famous in later years. This enterprise was her introduction into public life, although she did not realize it at the time. It was also her first organizing project. She had been chosen for the post to raise money and put on a campaign—not merely to record the minutes of an executive meeting. For a young woman of twenty-six this was a responsibility of no small proportion. She was to become a great builder. In this association she learned her first rules.

The closing of the Grove Street School forced Frances again to leave Evanston, so that in the autumn (1866) she resigned as secretary of the association. Through Dr. Henry Bannister, whose daughter Oliver had married, she secured the position at Lima. In addition to her duties as "preceptress," she also taught physiology, English, and composition. Part of her duty was to visit the girls frequently and to give a weekly chapel talk. These were assignments she thoroughly enjoyed.

Frances was much happier at Lima than she had been at any previous post. Not only was the position much superior to any other, but she had her very dear friend, Kate Jackson, with her. Moreover, the home-ties had slipped their gripping hold on her affections, and she no longer suffered the pangs of homesickness. Thus she was slowly finding contentment. She wrote in her diary: "They treat me beautifully here and I think I reciprocate."

At Christmas time (1866) Kate took Frances home with her to Paterson, New Jersey. Her father, James Jackson, was founder and president of the New Jersey Locomotive Works. Kate left home when he had remarried after her mother's death and had drifted to Evanston because of old family friends who lived there. This Christmas she had gone home with a splendid idea: she wanted him to send her and Frances to Europe for a year or two of study and travel. Mr. Jackson liked Frances and readily agreed to his daughter's proposal. Generously he told Frances that she must feel under no obligation either to him or to his daughter as he had

long wanted to send Kate abroad but had never found a suitable companion for her to go with. After the holidays the girls returned to Lima in jubilant spirits. To Frances this meant the opening of a new world and escape from the bleak, humdrum existence she had experienced as a teacher. It meant the opening of a fairyland of travel, art, music, people, life: Alice in Wonderland was no more bewildered or happy than she was over the plans for this great adventure. The rest of the year sped by on wings, so joyful were they in anticipation of things to come. Her long desire to be a traveler was coming true at last.

Although Frances was more contented at Genesee Wesleyan than she had been at any other school in which she had taught, it was a compromise kind of happiness. She had never thoroughly enjoyed the teaching profession: there was too much routine in it to suit her highly emotional nature. As she quite frankly confessed in her autobiography, "teaching" was not the goal of her ambition but the ally of her "financial independence." Not many weeks had passed before the novelty of her position at Lima had worn thin, and she wrote in her diary (November 26, 1866) that the term was growing dreary and monotonous. The old longing for change and travel seethed in her again as it had so many times in her young life. She spoke of chasms and voids in her life too numerous to name and seemed to be seized by ennui. Of course, she found much more zest in life after Christmas in the planning of the European trip.

As the term drew to a close she sent in her resignation to the board, and the students and faculty gave her a farewell party. The Senior class girls presented her with a ring, and the other girls gave her a dressing case. With these gifts they made speeches of regret for her leave-taking, together with assurances of their love and admiration for her. As she had written her mother in the beginning, the girls and teachers at Lima were very sweet to her. The board of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, in accepting her resignation, unanimously passed a resolution in grateful acknowledgment of her services and good wishes for a pleasant tour and safe return.

Seven years had passed since she had started her career. They had been hard, difficult years filled with sorrow, disappointments, and heartache; but she had learned something of self-discipline, had greatly extended the foundations of her knowledge, and had

mastered the first important lessons of organization. Yet it had been a laborious climb from that miserable one-room country schoolhouse at Harlem to the head of the woman's department at Genesee Weslyan Seminary, which was one of the finest schools under Methodist jurisdiction. In these years Frances had developed from a selfish, petulant, country lass into a woman whom a nation was to come to love before the end of the century.

CHAPTER V

Friends and Companions

NOT until Frances Willard left the farm did she fully realize her timidity and clumsiness in meeting people. Strangers terrified her. When Mr. Willard brought the girls to Evanston for school, he took them to the Matteson House in Chicago for dinner. Mary enjoyed the experience, but Frances found herself quite unequal to the occasion. The waiters and the other diners awed her. She was unable to select her dinner from the menu and helplessly left the choice to her father. Too miserable to enjoy the dinner, she sat morosely silent watching her father and sister happily entertain themselves.

At the North Western Female College both girls felt themselves hampered by their stiff, unbending manners and the long years of lack of association with companions. Mary wrote in her diary: "All of my early days were spent in retirement. I have seen but few girls and those I disliked they were so different from me."[1] About the same time Frances declared she had "an unconquerable aversion" to conversation with her superiors in position, age, or education because she could not feel at ease with them. The agony she suffered in social groups, however, made her conscious of other backward people, and she resolved always to show kindness to "those whom the community treats slightingly." Sensitive and introspective, she was embarrassed by her poor manners; each trivial blunder gnawed into her soul. Even in later years when she had become a national figure, personal criticism was almost unbearable to her. But during her school days, before she had learned to protect her feelings by some defense mechanism, she suffered at almost every human contact. Out of bitter heartache she reflected that, although she had lived twenty years, she lacked "dignity and womanliness." Not until after she returned from Europe was she able to meet strangers with ease, and not until she began her public lectures did she overcome her tragic shyness. The agony of soul she

suffered during her school days and the years succeeding could have been largely avoided if her parents had been alert to her sensitiveness or if she had had normal companionship as a child.

These early years produced more than a morbidly sensitive young woman; they affected her social relationship with men and women for all time. Her puritanical parents had taught her that a girl was always reserved in the society of young men. In fact, she should never show the slightest interest in a man until he had evidenced his admiration for her. Frances therefore set herself the difficult task of being "utterly impassive" to men and of treating every member of the male sex with "good will." She stifled herself, not even permitting a "backward glance" to certain young men whom she fancied. Others who made friendly advances to her, she curtly dismissed. Yet her heart ached for the normal friendships enjoyed by most girls, even by her sister Mary, but denied to Frances because of her oversensitiveness from the years of repression.

She had passed her nineteenth birthday before she went to an evening party with a young man.[2] The note inviting her to a student entertainment necessitated a family consultation, which finally decided that she might "discreetly answer" it by an acceptance. Mother and father joined forces in coaching her for the great occasion. So much emphasis was put upon the affair that Frances was thoroughly scared. When the evening arrived and he called for her, she took his arm with a "feeling akin to terror," for it was the first time in her life she had touched a young man. Unhappily the party was not a success. A minor social error brought her pain and humiliation. She had been so frightened lest she seem forward or bold that she failed to suggest leaving when the entertainment drew to a close. Finally her companion said to her: "I beg your pardon, but is it not time for me to take you home?" Doubtless her escort was supercilious and tactless, but she, nevertheless, was suffused with embarrassment. A graceful exit was one point her parents had neglected to cover in their instructions!

There were several men, she confessed, for whom she might have cared had she permitted herself to give any sign of encouragement. But she was so fearful that the men she noticed would not notice her that she "shut the door upon them" and assumed an indifference which she thought equaled their own. Yet each night she prayed for a lover, one whom she could trust and believe in "next

to God." But in simple faith she always added to this prayer that if this great boon could not be granted, then would He please make it up to her in some other way! By her own self-appraisal she felt doubtful whether any man whom she could care for would fall in love with her. She kept reminding herself that Burke had said the traits men most admire in women were dependence, softness, trust, and timidity. These characteristics she was certain she lacked.

Although wanting and praying for love, Frances was so closely attached to her family that she dreaded any separation. She was shocked one day to learn that Mary felt she could love the man she married better than either her father or her mother. Thereupon Frances commented in her diary: "She is to love the stranger better than those who are so dear to her, and who have been faithful to her always, and who will be to the end of the world, when he may grow careless and indifferent."

At the same time the love and admiration that Frances bore Oliver made her doubly critical of the young men she met. She repeatedly talked of him in her diary and quite obviously held him as her ideal in everything masculine. When she was twenty-one she wrote: "I am very proud of my brother. I like him, he suits my ideas better than any other young man I have ever seen. He has delicacy, quickness of perception, cultivation of mind, and physically the look that I particularly admire." This warm affection toward her family and maidenly idolatry of her brother, as well as her Puritan discipline and excessive shyness, were strong deterrent factors in her friendships with the opposite sex. Thus, although her heart yearned for love, there was a blockade of her emotion. The normal outlet of her affectionate nature being denied to her by these conflicting forces, she therefore poured out her love on feminine friends.

She had once written in her diary that she believed no woman ever knows the depths and richness of her nature until she has loved a man. This was before she had become engaged to Charles Fowler. She later disclaimed ever having loved this personable cleric but of mistaking admiration of his intellectual ability for a deeper emotion. Were there other men who touched her heart? There is reason to suppose that there were. In her own story of her life she wrote:

> Of the real romance of my life, unguessed save by a trio of close friends, these pages may not tell. When I have passed from sight I would be glad to have it known, for I believe it might contribute to a better understanding

between good men and women. For the rest, I have been within the temperate zone of a great heart's geography, which has been called "cold" simply because no Stanley had explored its tropic climate, and set down as "wholly inland" because no adventurous Balboa had viewed its wide Pacific Sea.

Various men have been mentioned as the real romance of her life. But there is little evidence that leads to any particular hero. As she did not marry the object of her affections but nevertheless wished her romantic dream to be known after her death for a "better understanding between good men and women," there is ground for assuming that the obstacle to the blossoming of the romance is to be found in the fact that her beloved one was married. Furthermore, the fact that her friends did not share her enthusiasm in publishing the story after her death suggests the theory that there was an ethical ban on the romance.

Some have held that Terrence Powderly was the man! Frances kept his picture on her desk continuously after their first meeting in 1886. He was, in truth, like her brother, the kind of man she might well admire. Handsome, studious, and eloquent, Powderly was the leader of the Knights of Labor. The kindred spirit of reform brought both crusaders together in the years 1886–92, but the labor-reformer was ten years younger than Frances, being but thirty-seven when he first met her while she was forty-seven. That he knew of her devotion and warmly returned it can hardly be doubted, as she probably would not have desired an unrequited love to be published to the world. But the broken engagement to Charles Fowler was never regretted. When she was teaching at the Pittsburgh Female Seminary in 1863, she wrote in her diary: "Oh, so much better to wait for years and years if we may hope to find at last the one who can be all things to the heart. I am glad, heartily glad, I did not perjure myself in 1862."

The affectionate nature of Frances Willard, thus denied its normal expression, was deflected into another channel. While still a schoolgirl and excessively shy of male companions, Frances found comfort in the friendship of other lonely but romantic damsels. Segregated schools, from time immemorial, have been familiar with the phenomenon frequently called "girl crushes." The North Western Female College was no exception. She and Mary both frankly re-

vealed the common practice of themselves and their friends. Mary related the following episode:

> Holland says that all girls have to pass through the "girl friendship" stage. And as they all have to do so did I, and I am not ashamed to tell of it. So when I first left home to attend a boarding school, I was willing in my loneliness to have a "little friendship." So I fell in love just like a boy, and wooed and won, as a friend and a good one, a sweet tempered, sweet-faced girl.[3]

Frances as candidly told of her first "flame," named Maggie. This girl soon moved East with her parents, but the friendship continued by the frequent exchange of letters. To Frances the gala event of each week was the letter from Maggie. In one letter reproduced in *Glimpses*, Frances wrote her: "I love you more than life, better than God, more than I dread damnation." Maggie was only the first of a long succession of close friendships. At this time Frances was but nineteen years old and not yet going with any young man. But, if not sought out by the opposite sex, she at least possessed dash and verve and an air of self-confidence which was appealing to the girls. In an account of her during the Harlem School days a friend said: "She was a most affectionate girl and her girl friends seemed to arouse in her the devotion and love that are usually lavished on the other sex. I recall a number of these girls who loved and were loved in turn by her as I have never seen elsewhere."[4]

Unlike most girls of the period Frances wore her hair short and wanted to be called "Frank." Nearly everyone did call her Frank except her father, who insisted on the feminine "Frances." But her bravado, her bobbed hair, and her masculine nickname made her something of a beau to the beauless girls in school. Afraid to look at boys and always quite miserable at "mixed" parties, she found a compensating happiness in playing the leading role in feminine attachments. She was a lonely soul longing for love, friendship, and understanding. In her diary she poured out her grief: "Oh, I want a young friend of my own age, nearly, who shall love me, understand me, bear with me! Often I have thought that I had such a one, but have found to my bitter regret that I was mistaken." Her ceaseless search for an understanding companion won her the reputation of fickleness by the college girls. Unfortunately, hers was a restless, unhappy nature which was warm and affectionate, eager to grasp all of life, wishful for real companionship, yet warped by training and environment to preclude the fondest joys and happiness of life.

In the autumn of 1862 Frances Willard joined the faculty of the North Western Female College. Her engagement to Charles Fowler had been broken the preceding February, her sister Mary had died in June, and subsequently Oliver had married and moved to Denver. Thus the family circle was broken and the home disrupted. Ill with grief, disappointment, and melancholy, Frances turned for solace to the girls in the college. They, of course, enjoyed her attention, and admiration grew into affection. Soon both teacher and pupils were writing notes to each other which were slipped under doors. The two following notes illustrate the type of messages which passed between teacher and pupils:

My own dear Frank.

No, not mine any longer either. How very natural it came for me to say those words, and yet I must tutor myself to change them, for your love has gone from me, like a "beautiful dream," gone to Ada! I thought this evening (Oh! my thoughts were so bitter and rebellious) I would like to see the corpses of your dead "loves!" What a ghastly sight. I am paralysed. I scarcely know I'm writing. Oh Frank pity me! Oh God pity me! Yes, I ask pity of you! It isn't hard for you; you can't have loved me as I have loved you! It is impossible, you couldn't give it up so soon. You ask me what I think of your conduct? Ask yourself, if no voice of blame comes back, I can say nothing. Now as I look back I can see how madly I have loved. . . . . Never till now have I felt this truth in all its force, that "of all griefs a strong love unreturned, or unfulfilled is the sorrow which most blights a human life." Blights? Sears and corrodes! My life will not be very long I believe tonight, I pray that it will not. I'm tired and crave rest, oblivious rest! And yet I should have known. But Sunday I took up one of your notes, the first that you ever admitted a change. It hurt me so that I put it away before I finished the first page. But though I've dared to think, I never knew until last Friday. A memorable day to me. I hurried out of the room so you shouldn't see my tears for I couldn't be strong any longer; not then.

Why's your reason. Think you I could endure Ada when I saw her killing my dearest hopes? I have not the power. Stronger discipline I must know before I can. Read this in remembrance of the Past. What I have said (and, Oh! so deeply felt) will now come from Ada. But promise me these two things. Believe that I was sincere. All that I ever said came from my truest life. And if ever you need a friend, come to me. I shall be grateful for it. Promise me the last if you can't assure me of the first. Forgiveness is yours. I have not kept you waiting.

Emma

Another frantic note from Emma is given below, although similar notes might be used from other girls.

IN THE EVENING

FRANK!

You cannot continue thinking me weak about losing my idol. It was my first, my only. Though asking that question, a week ago Friday, and though I was so sure of being able to take the decision, whatever it was. When it did come it fell like a thunderbolt on me! My preparation was all in vain, all in vain! If you could ever know the struggle that it cost me to give up Our ring, you would look with other eyes on my pitiable weakness which I could no longer conceal. It seemed like at once breaking all the beautiful ties, which you will admit have existed between us, so much more than any bodily pain which could ever endure. Oh! I must not tell you: it will be unkind. Do I believe you in what you have said or done toward me? Let me tell you what I have for so long felt. I would rather hear any one's voice but yours condemn me; rather hear loving words spoken by you. I never heard such an expressive voice. It fairly made me cringe when you said contemptible, one day. Don't let my sorrow take one whit from your happiness in Ada's love, even she would think of me charitably now. Oh, I cannot, cannot be strong. Help me Frank, if you know how. I'm afraid you haven't pitied me! Do! Do! It would be wrong for me to write any more now. I should tell you my thought, my despair!

Frank! Your note almost sent me back again on the old track. Would I like to be with you always! My life's aim. Goodbye. Oh! Frank!

EMMA[5]

Such were the happy and unhappy situations which developed between Frances Willard and her pupils in the autumn and early winter of 1862. She was then twenty-three years old. Emma, however, did not die of a broken heart but made up her quarrel with Frank. A diary entry some months later after she had gone to Pittsburgh reads: "A letter from Emma had made Pittsburgh with its smoke and forges to be quite forgotten for awhile, and put me into a Utopia all my own."

There is no record that the same close association with students was continued at the Pittsburgh Female Seminary; but when she returned home from her months of teaching, she met Kate Jackson, who for the next few years was to be her bosom companion. Kate took Frances to Europe for two marvelous years of travel and study. The friendship was so close that Kate became exceedingly jealous of other women and closely guarded her vivacious companion.

Kate was especially apprehensive of one friend whom they met in a pension in Berlin. Enamored of Frances Willard, she showered her with flowers, fruits, and delicacies. But Kate was so offended that they left Berlin, and Frances cautioned her not to write very often as she could not permit Kate to be unhappy about their friendship. The warmth of their affection filled the first letter written after the separation.

BERLIN
December 1st, 1868

MY OWN DARLING,

While seated at the breakfast table this morning the servant brought me a letter directed in the dear well known handwriting. Although I had hoped, and longed for some word from you, I had scarcely expected a letter before next week, when I thought you would be in Paris.

"Do I think of you?" "Have I thought and longed for you?" "Could I whisper in your ear the old sweet words, were you beside me?" Oh! Frank, dearest, little do you know, will you ever know of all that I have thought and longed and suffered, since I last saw you. I have thought I must be made of sterner stuff than flesh and blood to bear it all, and hide it. To talk and laugh and always the pain gnawing at my heart. To hear as I sat at the table that last day, the carriage roll past that was taking you from me, to look carelessly around, just as though you were not leaving me forever.

And the next day while my husband was busy, to be alone in the Gallery where two days before Frank had walked, to be alone with no company but my sad thoughts. No one was in the Gallery but Mrs. Cramer and myself. I soon left her, and took a seat in the fartherest room in a corner, where I was sure of no interruption for two hours. And then I thought of all that had come to me, in the past two months, and of what was left to me: my diary, which is dearer than ever to me, to it alone in the world can I talk of you, and it can tell me back how you love me; my Bible, my two packets of notes, the one when you liked me, the other when you loved me, "our violets," the book you gave me, the linings of my watch, the little song to sing at twilight, and that is all.

And that night to return to the house from which the dear form had gone forever, to go up the stairs, where I used to kiss you, where I afterwards longed to and did not dare, the sofa where we sat that last night, and so often before. O! how I prayed that night for strength, great strength, that might never fail me but that might support me in this new trial.

I was so surrounded that I could not read your note until the next morning. The sweetest, loveliest words. I read, "Send me loving words I beg

you," they have haunted me ever since. What I would whisper were you here this moment by me, but words fail me. I think if you were here, I should ask first, "can you kiss me" and then I should lay my head on the dear shoulder, and listen for the loving words. I do not think I could speak.

How many naughty thoughts came thronging into my mind when I think that we cannot openly correspond. Never mind, the time must come, of that I am sure. You ask me to burn "this scrawl" and to write you that I have done so: That is too much even for me to do. I will guard it most sacredly but I will not burn it: I can burn signs of my love to you when I know that you are thereby relieved. But to burn your sweet words, to burn what I have longed and prayed for, to burn anything you have given me, you must not ask of me.

When you write to your mother, give her my love, tell her if you will how I love her child, that so long as life is spared to me I will be all that a friend could be to you, that nothing but death shall keep me from being that Friend. If I never look upon your sweet face again, I will never let you forget my love is for you. Now my Darling, my own Precious Darling I must stop writing. Write me as soon and as often as you can. If you have no time and no chance, write only the three sweet words, the words that I kiss last at night and first in the morning, that never leave my heart. Love me as you have loved me, kiss the little cross and never let it leave you.

YOUR OWN ———

P.S.
Must I wait much longer before I have your picture? Surely she would not grudge me that comfort.

On the back of this missive was the following penciled note by Frances.

MOTHER. I sent this letter for your eyes only. Keep it for me. Make no reference to it but send a nice message to my sweet new friend. Sometimes we exchange letters privately for I will not hurt my dear Kate. Make no reference to this in your letters to me and tell no one.

Intervening friendships broke the smooth rhythm of the day-by-day comradeship of Frances and Kate. In her diary of August 18, 1869, after the two girls had been in Europe a little over a year, Frances wrote: "Kate is my good angel, my untiring benefactress, to whom I can never be grateful enough. But a change has come over our relations. Excellent friends and confidantes and mutual sympathizers always, we have lost the charm of our long cherished relationship. The tenderness is almost gone. Ah, with what sincere but useless regret I write the words!"[6] About a week later she made

another similar comment, stating they had hardly spoken to each other for several days and that they had never seemed so far apart, although for no good reason. "Shall we not come back again? I hope so. I will try." What had disturbed the "tenderness" of their relationship is a matter of speculation. Several years later when Frances resigned from the Northwestern University and went into a larger field of work, Kate did not follow her. Their ways definitely parted in the summer of 1874.

Later Frances met another young girl for whom she at once conceived an attachment, Anna Gordon. It was in 1877 that Anna became her secretary and continued in this capacity for twenty-one years. She looked after Frances like a mother. On one occasion when Miss Willard lectured in an eastern town, she stayed all night under the kindly roof of one of the villagers. The morning brought a typical New England blizzard with snow that had drifted into deep banks. Miss Gordon would not permit her illustrious charge to venture out until she had pinned up her long skirts and borrowed an extra wrap to tuck around her in the carriage. It was with the solicitude and tenderness of a mother for her child that Miss Gordon cared for and protected Frances Willard. It is quite unlikely she could have carried on her staggering burden of engagements if it had not been for the faithful and devoted services of Anna Gordon.

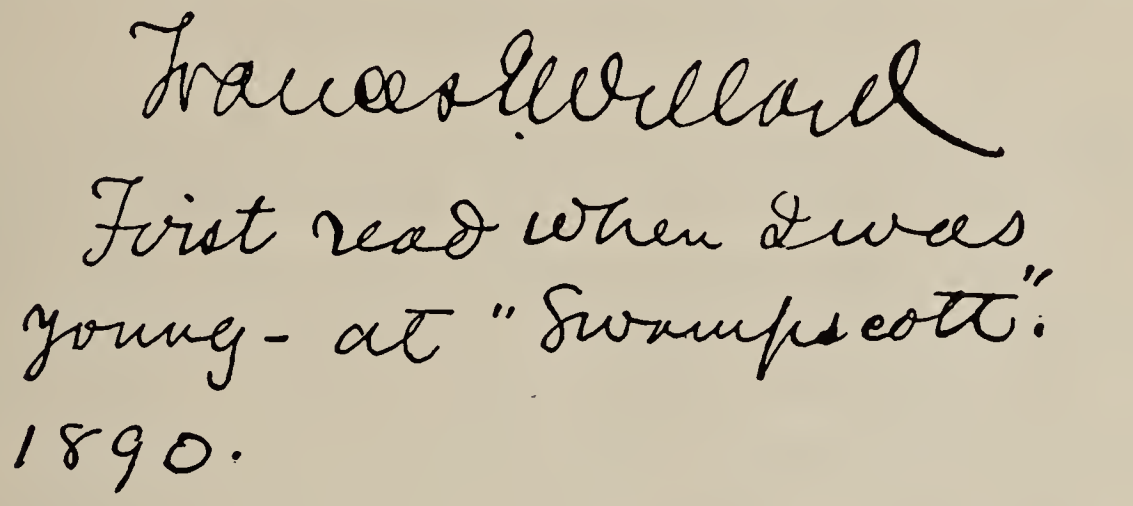
Furthermore, the affection and devotion of Anna gave Frances the warmth and glow her nature demanded. She needed love, affection, and admiration. Frances had a strange power to arouse in other women a strong feeling of affection toward herself. This was a talent which in later years bound women to her not merely by the dozen but literally by the thousands. Between 1878 and 1898, the most critical years of her career, Anna Gordon possessed almost a monopoly of her affections. In later years, however, she met a charming Englishwoman. They became the most devoted friends almost from the hour of meeting. For the remaining six years of her life Frances Willard and Lady Henry Somerset were well-nigh inseparable, Frances remaining for months at a time in the delightful English home of her friend. There are stories told that Anna and Lady Henry were jealous of each other over her friendship. Rumors were recurrent that Anna was not cordially received by Lady Henry when she accompanied Frances to England. In truth, the old closeness between Frances and Anna was ended, although the friendship continued until death parted them.

These friendships can be understood only in the light of her own views. In her *Glimpses* Frances Willard was amazingly frank. She wrote:

> The loves of women for each other grow more numerous each day, and I have wondered much why these things were. That so little should be said about them surprises me, for they are everywhere. Perhaps the "Maids of Llangollen" (in Wales) afford the most conspicuous example; two women, young and fair, with money and position, who ran away together, refusing all offers to return, and spent their happy days in each other's calm companionship within the home they proceeded to establish. Tourists visit the spot where they once dwelt, to praise their constancy and sigh for the peace that they enjoyed. In these days, when any capable and careful women can honorably earn her own support, there is no village that has not its examples of "two heads in counsel," both of which are feminine. Often times these joint-proprietors have been unfortunately married, and so have failed to "better their condition" until, thus clasping hands, they have taken each other "for better or for worse." These are the tokens of a transition age. Drink and tobacco are today the great separatists between women and men. Once they used these things together, but woman's evolution has carried her beyond them; man will climb to the same level some day, but meanwhile he thinks he must have his dinners from which woman is excluded and his club house with whose delights she intermeddleth not. Indeed, the fact that he permits himself fleshly indulgences that he would deprecate in her, makes their planes different, giving him a sense of larger liberty and her an instinct of revulsion.
>
> The friendships of women are beautiful and blessed; the loves of women ought not to be, and will not be, when the sacred purposes of the temperance, the labor, and the woman movements are wrought out into the customs of society and the laws of the land.

In her library was a book entitled *The Friendships of Women*, by William Rounseville Alger. Her copy was the twelfth edition which was published in 1890, although she wrote on the flyleaf that she had read an earlier edition when she was at Swampscott (this would have been before 1865). The marking in this book, in her own handwriting, is most interesting. She here indicated that someday she would like to write a novel on the friendships of women. A clipping and several references were added to freshen her memory when that time came. The first reference related to the romantic story of the Ladies of Llangollen. The second reference concerned the romantic attachment of Margaret Fuller with a number of girls,

and the last two citations were about the useless activity of women who devote their lives to society. The projected novel was never written. It is possible that, had this fictionalized thesis been published, the views of Frances Willard regarding the friendships of women would have been understood. Undoubtedly she was



FRANCES WILLARD'S NOTATION ON THE FLYLEAF OF *THE FRIENDSHIPS OF WOMEN*

greatly influenced by the book, *The Friendships of Women*, which she read in her early twenties, and also by the works of Plato, especially the *Symposium*, which she read in Bohn's translation at about the same period. Early in her career she recognized her unusual influence over women, for even while she was teaching at Kankakee (1860) she wrote in her diary: "In all my friendships I am the one relied on, the one who fights the battles, or would if there were any to fight."

Scott's home and stood in humble awe before his library of twenty thousand volumes; she saw the ruins where once, supposedly, dwelt King Arthur and his storied Knights of the Round Table; she sat in the lovely arbor of William Wordsworth's home and there admired the beautiful trees and shrubs of his gardens.

CHART OF EUROPEAN TRIP

1868

May 23. Sailed on the "City of Paris" for Ireland
June 3. Arrived Cork, Ireland
June. Traveled through Ireland and Scotland
July. Part of England and London
July 24. Embarked at Dover for the Continent, Paris, Switzerland
August 4. Frankfort-on-the-Main
August 19. Stockholm, Sweden
August 25. St. Petersburg, Russia
September 1. Moscow
September 15. Berlin
November 24. Dresden
December 24. Paris; stayed here for six months

1869

June 24. Left Paris for the Rhineland
July. Antwerp, Belgium, Bingen-on-the-Rhine

1869—Continued

August. Lucerne, Freiburg, Geneva
September, October, November, December } Venice, Turin, Florence, Rome

1870

January. Naples
January 24. Sailed from Naples for Cairo, Egypt
February. Egypt, on the Nile
March. Visit to the Holy Land
April. Athens, Constantinople
May 8. Vienna
May 27. Paris
June 25. London
July 15. Paris
August 23. London
August 26. Sailed from Liverpool for home on the "City of Russia"
September 5. Arrived in New York

From such richness of historic sights the girls went on to London. Only a cursory view of the city was taken during their two weeks' stay here, as they planned to come back later for a prolonged visit. Although Frances attempted during this interval in London to write a few articles on her travel experiences for home papers, she managed, nevertheless, to go to the theater to hear Adelina Patti;[1] to the Houses of Parliament, where she caught a glimpse of Mr. William Gladstone, then leader of Her Majesty's

Loyal Opposition; to inspect the Tussaud waxworks; and to hear two sermons by the great Charles Haddon Spurgeon, whom she ranked as even superior to her great favorite in America—Henry Ward Beecher. The rest of London was reserved for their return visit.

On July 24, 1868, they left for Switzerland to join friends with whom they were to make an eight-week tour of the Scandinavian countries and Russia. On their way to Geneva they spent several days in Paris. Frances was enchanted. They arrived in the city in the evening, as she had on her first visit to New York, and drove through the brilliantly lighted streets to the Hôtel du Louvre. Although now they spent only two days in the city, they planned to return here later for a six months' visit. Arriving at Lausanne, Switzerland, they stopped at the Hotel Gibbon, built on the site of Edward Gibbon's home, and gazed on the same inspiring Alpine peaks that he enjoyed when writing the closing chapters of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. In Geneva they visited the homes of Voltaire and Rousseau, the famous estate of Baron Rothschild, and the church where Calvin preached. Only by the realization that they would also return to Switzerland were they able to tear themselves away from this fascinating country after a brief four-day stay.

The northern trip in some respects was a disappointment, as Frances was desperately sick for a week with cholera morbus. This delay in their schedule prevented them from visiting Norway as planned. But Frances possessed the rare spirit of a true traveler and enjoyed the different customs and traditions of each new country visited. No discomfort of travel could lessen her zest for this great adventure; not even her illness in Copenhagen could dampen her ardor; for, as she wrote her mother: "I am more fond of sightseeing than I can possibly describe. At home I was so; indeed, my love of the unusual has been a marked feature, perhaps, but here it grows by what it feeds on."

Throughout her entire tour in Europe, Frances displayed a fondness for visiting the graves of famous people and taking from each a green sprig or a fresh flower. These mementos she preserved in an album. Perhaps all this was but an expression of the morbid grief which lingered after the death of her sister and her father and which after her mother's death some years later led to such other manifestations as spiritualism and psychic phenomena.

She sought out the grave of Fredrika Bremer, the distinguished Swedish novelist and feminist leader but learned that the woman had died in Denmark (1865) and that "her remains had not been brought home." Frances visited, however, the grave of the great botanist Linnaeus and the other near-by graves of Odin, Thor, and Frigga. The last three Scandinavians, she explained to her mother, were heroes who had been canonized and were now worshiped as saints, although she had always thought of them as fabulous personalities. Frances would have enjoyed visiting the graves of all the famous people in each town and country she traveled in, but the rest of her party did not share her enthusiasm and were content, as she expressed it, "to skim the cream of things."

From Sweden they stopped at the Åland Islands on their way to Finland and Russia. At Wibourg, Frances attended for the first time a Greek Orthodox church. She reacted to the Greek ritual in typical Protestant fashion, saying: "It was very handsome but the Catholics even don't compare, for mummery, with these people." After passing through the famous fortress of Kronstadt, they arrived in the Russian city of St. Petersburg (Leningrad). The Russian capital, she declared, was unequaled for massive magnificence. She visited a dozen palaces, inspected the crown jewels, which dazzled her by their size and brilliancy, and reveled in the rare collection of paintings at the Hermitage (the palace of Catherine II). Some sixteen hundred great masterpieces were housed here, including some of the finest works of Rembrandt and Murillo. In addition, there were many priceless art objects in the collection, dating back to six hundred years before Christ.

After a week of such pilgrimages Frances and her party departed for Moscow, several hundred miles inland. But the difference between the two cities was the difference between the East and the West. St. Petersburg, despite its magnificence, was essentially a Western city, having been built by Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century in imitation of such Western cities as Paris and London. But Moscow had been built under the influence of the Orient long before Peter made Russia conscious of Western customs. Here was the essence of the East, with mosques and Byzantine architecture. Frances had been dazzled by the number of palaces and gleaming jewels she saw in St. Petersburg, but they now seemed a mere bagatelle compared to the extravagant splendor of Moscow.

Not content with viewing Russia through the two windows of St. Petersburg and Moscow, Frances and her party penetrated three hundred miles farther inland to the town of Nizhnii Novgorod on the Volga River, where the great fair was in progress. Held annually for more than five centuries for the sale and exchange of merchandise, the bazaar attracted two hundred thousand visitors. Here Russians, Tartars, Armenians, Chinese, and other merchants from the East came to buy and sell. It was, withal, a colorful display of merchandise and a gorgeous mingling of the races in their flowing garments of Byzantine design. It had been worth the uncomfortable trip to Nizhnii Novgorod to see this oriental mart.

Leaving Russia for Berlin, they stopped on the way at the city of Warsaw, Poland. Finally, arrived at the German capital, they settled down to several months of intensive study. The girls were fortunate in meeting here Professor C. W. Bennett, principal of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, New York, where they had both taught the preceding year. Professor Bennett was an old friend of Rev. Henry Bannister, through whom they had secured their position at the seminary. The Bennetts now took Frances and Kate under their care and secured very pleasant accommodations for them at their boarding-house, which catered to foreign visitors. Frances at once began taking German lessons in an endeavor to master the language in a few weeks' time. In addition, she did as much sightseeing as possible and tried to catch up on the articles she had set herself to do for the newspapers and magazines at home. Nevertheless, museums and art galleries were visited almost daily during the weeks they remained in this city.

By the middle of November the American girls said goodbye to this delightful place and departed for Dresden, stopping at Wittenberg and Leipzig on the way. Frances was charmed by Wittenberg, where, she told her mother, Protestants go as Mohammendans do to Mecca. They stopped at a hotel just across the street from the church on which Luther nailed his Theses. The graves of both Luther and Melanchthon were duly visited, as were all the familiar haunts of these men.

In Dresden, Frances and Kate ensconced themselves comfortably in a pension and prepared to stay for some weeks. Again Frances took up the study of German and added French. Meanwhile, she laboriously continued to write her articles and to visit the interest-

ing places. Trips were made to the famous fortress of Königstein, the porcelain factory at Meissen, and all the neighboring art galleries. Frances became very much engrossed in art at this time and wrote her mother that she had fallen "in love with the old masters."

About the middle of December the girls left Dresden for Paris. They stopped at Weimar, where they paid homage to the tombs of Goethe and Schiller and took from each a few laurel leaves. They arrived in Paris in time for Christmas. Through their letters of introduction they secured excellent lodgings with a Frenchwoman, Mme Perrot, who also agreed to tutor them in the language. As the girls were her only guests, they received marvelous attention. As soon as Frances felt she was well started in French, she began the study of Italian. Writing her mother that she had been seized with a mania for languages, she expressed her delight in learning a language with a native teacher. To her it now seemed that any language was dead when learned in the classroom.

The Collège de France was only a short distance from their living quarters, so they took advantage of the public lectures offered daily by some of the most learned men on the faculty. They were also fortunate in being able to attend some of the open lectures of the Sorbonne. Among the distinguished scholars they heard lecture in these open forums were Édouard Laboulaye (1811–83), professor of comparative legislation in the Collège de France (1849–70); Adolphe Franck (1809–93), professor of natural and civil law from 1856 to 1886 at the Sorbonne; and François Guizot (1787–1874), French historian and statesman, and professor of history at the Sorbonne from 1812. Frances and Kate enjoyed lighter moments, however, when they mingled socially with French people. One evening a week Mme Perrot took them to a "soirée"; and on another evening each week they went to the home of Rev. Armand de Lille. Mme Perrot was a close friend of the Duchesse de Sesto, and she also had the entree into many old families. Her family circumstances had been greatly reduced in recent months because of the death of her husband, an architect. Frances wrote: "It is no ordinary society to which our surroundings introduce us."

By the end of June, 1869, Frances and Kate resumed their travels. They went to the Flemish countries, where Frances reveled in the richness of the paintings of the great galleries. She said: "They

have come out of the mists and mazes—those wonderful old artists of early times, the Van Eycks, Hemling, and their successors down to the gorgeous days of Reubens." From the Netherlands the girls traveled through the beautiful Rhineland, visiting Wiesbaden, Baden Baden, Worms, Heidelberg, and Strasbourg on their journey southward to Lucerne, Switzerland.

In Switzerland the girls enjoyed much of the scenic grandeur by horseback. The winding mountain trails, the forests, and glens were especially suitable to riding. In this exhilarating Alpine atmosphere the girls spent a week before going on to Italy, where they remained several months. In Italy they first stopped at Florence, where Frances again rapturously visited the great paintings. On the way to Rome they stopped at Perugia, Assisi, and the famous Falls of Terni. In Rome they tarried awhile. Here they visited and revisited St. Peter's Cathedral. The thousand chambers of the Vatican were explored, as well as the Capitol. They saw "the Laocoon, Apollo, Venus, and the crying Gladiator which are so royally domiciled with the transfiguration of Raphael and the communion of Saint Jerome by Domenchino, not to speak of the Sistine Chapel where one learns to what heights soared the genius of Michael Angelo and the Stanze of Raphael which is the culminating point of his varied and unequalled pencil." The palace of the Caesars was another high moment in their sightseeing. Perhaps the most romantic moments of their wanderings were standing on the spot where the legendary Romulus had lived and viewing the Coliseum by moonlight.

Frances resumed her studies and engaged an Italian tutor. In an enthusiastic mood she wrote her mother: "You see what unrivalled advantages are open to us for the winter." In their Italian pension both French and Italian were spoken, and, as a German countess sat next to her at the dinner table, Frances managed to secure a little practice in German also. An Italian lawyer from Florence stopping here at this time set the pattern for the table conversation which revolved around Italian poets, history, and literature. This gave the American girls additional acquaintance with the life and culture of Italy.

They remained in Rome for the Christmas holidays (1869) before going on to Naples, where they were joined by Dr. Bannister of Evanston. He had crossed the Atlantic on his way to the Holy

Land and had invited the girls to join his party. Eagerly they accepted. Amid the gaiety of delightful companions the party reached Cairo, Egypt, in the latter part of January, 1870. The ancient civilization of this land beckoned. They spent two weeks traveling inland by the Nile and penetrated one thousand miles into Africa. Thence the party journeyed into Asia Minor and visited Jerusalem. Although she was impressed by the mighty pyramids, it was the Holy City which really fascinated Frances. From Jerusalem she wrote her mother (March 9, 1870) of the wonders of her travels. She spoke of galloping along the Plain of Sharon, and away to the left gleamed the walls of Lydia, where Peter wrought a miracle of healing and Dorcas took a woman's part in the new church. She stopped her horse at a brook where once David had gathered pebbles to slay the giant Goliath. At sunset she drew rein on a hilltop that overlooked the Holy City: "Far off its gray walls rose, stern and solemn and to my believeing heart significant beyond all power of words to tell. And I have stood upon Mt. Zion and looked often and tenderly over the lonely expanse of Olivet." Yes, the Holy Land with all its biblical landmarks won her heart and soul; Egypt with its long history of Pharaohs and pyramids could not compare!

The party spent three weeks on the trip to Damascus, and some of this time they camped out on the Syrian Desert. Frances recounted that she never felt better or ate with more delight than during those days they lived in tents under the open sky. There were about thirteen in their party, mostly professors, ministers, and their wives. Gleefully she recounted that there were three doctors of divinity and a bishop. These delightful companions made the expedition to the Holy Land the outstanding event of their two years of travel. Parting from their friends in Syria, the girls went on to Constantinople and there took the steamer up the Danube to Vienna. Thence they went to Paris to replenish bedraggled wardrobes. Here they met some other Evanstonians—Professors Henry Noyes and Daniel Bonbright, with whom they had a pleasant visit which seemed the next thing to being home, as they heard the latest news from their friends and family. While their clothes were being made, they went over to London for a final visit. Although they had planned on going to Spain, the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in July hastened their departure for home. They sailed from

Liverpool on the Cunard liner, "City of Russia," on August 27, 1870, and docked in New York on September 5. Thus came to an end a tour of two years and four months.

These two wonderful years reconstructed Frances Willard. They gave her education, purpose, and design in life. It was in Europe that she determined to be a force in the woman's movement. To her mother's petulant queries on the question of her return to America, Frances wrote from Paris during their six-month stay, in the spring of 1869, the following significant lines:

When am I coming home? Whenever you summon me even if it be your reply to this letter. In giving that reply, I beg you will not permit your life long habit of self denial to interfere. Tell me what you prefer in view of your own happiness. To have me here, studying, improving, getting ready for better things, or to have me in America, teaching as before, and near you, seeing you perhaps often, possibly not more frequent than twice or three times in the year. Is not this the only alternative open for our consideration?

I ought to have had my own nest, long ago, but somehow the mate who should have helped "to weave it so and lay the twigs across" failed to appear, and I have cheerfully directed my activities toward other occupations. For me, when I return, there will be ample work—among the class that I have always loved and that has loved me always—the girls of my native land and my times. I shall yet live to do them better service than I ever hoped to render, if Heaven restores my country to me, after the rich experiences of study so wonderfully bestowed upon me through the generosity of my truest friend—save you. . . . .

Apparently perturbed over the vagueness of such a future, her mother wrote a letter of admonition and advised her to write Mary Mortimer, principal of the Milwaukee Female Seminary where Frances had once gone to school, for a position. Replying to this (May 4, 1869), she thanked her mother for the excellent advice but stated that she had lately been feeling the old fervor of her "wild youth" at Forest Home and dreamed of the service she might render in the woman question, "now receiving so much noble thought and support." She added: "Let all rest till I come home then we will talk the matter over. Do not be for a moment anxious about me." From Cairo she wrote (January 30, 1870) her mother on the same theme, explaining that all she saw and learned, all that saddened and exalted her, and all that charmed and chastened merely intensified her burning desire to serve humanity.

As the months went by, her resolve deepened into firm conviction. Her father had often said that for success one must feel the surge of victory. In this spirit she again wrote her mother, this time from Jerusalem in March, 1870. One year had elapsed since the Paris letter.

As the time draws nearer for our return I think much about what I shall do, and feel the victory in me as never before, to be a force in the world. I should not care for a place with Miss Mortimer, and there are doubtless many others who would be preferred and who would be better fitted than I for a place in your university at Evanston.

I should hesitate to tell even to you, whither my sympathies lead me. We shall see, and meanwhile give yourself not an anxious thought about me. A thousand phases of the future may change before the time of our homecoming. . . . .

It is of passing interest to note that at this time, while so deeply interested in the woman question, she was unmoved by the temperance issue. In her *Glimpses of Fifty Years* she courageously revealed the half-truth regarding this by saying that because of the impurity of the water in Europe she acquired the habit there of pouring a little wine into her glass of water. She began this practice, she stated, after her illness at Copenhagen. Actually, she fell into Continental ways on the journey to Denmark. On the boat to Denmark the girls met a charming old gentleman, who in a spirit of genial hospitality asked them to have a little port with him, which they did. The amazing part of this episode was that, in spite of the strictness of her home life, she recounted this incident to her mother with neither excuse nor explanation. The matter was mentioned in the most casual manner as if there should have been no question about it whatever.

In Germany she enjoyed the native beverage of beer. In one letter she said that all the good news from home was enough to make her strong even if she didn't drink "Bairische Bier." Again, in telling her mother of the excellence of their food, she said: "We sit down to soup—then fowl and other meat, vegetables and a nice dessert of some kind and I to my Seidel (glass or mug) of Bavarian beer." On still another occasion she spoke about returning home from an expedition which had greatly fatigued her, but she said that after a good dinner and a glass of beer she felt quite refreshed. However, she related in *Glimpses* that during the winter of 1874 her Evanston

doctor prescribed beer for her, from which she derived no benefit because every glass she drank nauseated her.

In France she consistently drank wine with her dinner and seemed to relish it as much as she had the beer. Again, writing her mother of the French cuisine, she said: "After an excellent dinner (of soup, roast or fowl, salad, vegetable of some sort, cakes, oranges and wine) we go for two or three hours to the lectures at the Collège de France." On board the steamer "Orient" going up the Danube River from Constantinople to Vienna, she wrote in her journal: "We have the best wines that I have ever seen gratuitously provided. Red, white *vin ordinaire*, Marsala, and at the last dinner, Champagne." Certainly, at this time, she had little, if any, interest in the prohibition movement.

As her life's goal took shape and form in her imagination, so did her education broaden. Fully conscious of the great advantages before her, she wrote her mother while in Paris that if she had only been able to visit Europe earlier in her life she would have been a "different and altogether superior person" to what she could be now. Her mind was quickened by the historic scenes she visited, arousing a "thirst for knowledge which was insatiable for a thousand subjects" which at first had failed to interest her. Art, music, literature, languages, lectures, history, and peoples were all brought within the range of her appreciation. Nor had she ever before in her life met so many interesting persons in the close contact of dinner-table conversation. Mr. Jackson had allowed each girl six thousand dollars in gold for this remarkable adventure. Frances had made the most of it: private teachers, unusual expeditions, the opera, books, guides, and all the implements to garner the most advantage from such a magnificent opportunity.

Despite the munificence of Kate's father, Frances was pinched for personal funds. To secure money for her incidental expenses she laboriously wrote articles on her travels for newspapers and journals at home. Through friends and relatives she was able to have a few accepted by the *Chicago Republican*, the *Methodist*, the *Sunday School Teacher*, and the *New York Independent*, as well as several other papers of lesser influence. But after they had published several to help her, the market was closed. These articles showed immaturity; instead of discussing the life and customs of the people she visited and something of their social, political, and economic conditions,

she wrote on such sterile themes as "The English Lakes," "Crossing the Cattegat," or "Burns's Haunts." Her style, moreover, was sentimental, verbose, and stilted. The rejected articles returned to Mrs. Willard soon grew to fifteen. She and Oliver diligently tried to sell them to magazines and newspapers. When this failed, Mrs. Willard somehow scraped together $150, which she sent Frances. The balance of her needs she had to borrow from Kate. Yet the time spent on writing these articles was not wasted, as they sharpened her observation and lent discipline to her extensive travels. Furthermore, the few that were published gave her a little standing, a little prestige in her home town and among her Methodist friends.

Through her expanded interests and fine associations, Frances shook off the old narrow provincialisms. The shy girl lost her shyness. The unschooled maiden of the prairies gained wisdom from the masters of Europe. During the few brief months in Europe she learned more, she said, than in all the previous years of her life. In this view she was supported by Dr. Bannister, who reported to Mrs. Willard on his return home from the Holy Land that Frances was much changed and "improved."

The great adventure in Europe was for Frances a real education. It widened her horizon, stimulated her intellectual curiosity, and developed her charm and graciousness. Without this experience in the Old World it is more than probable that she would have remained an unknown schoolteacher, never attaining the power to lead her sisters in the New World in the greatest crusade of modern women.

CHAPTER VII

A New College in the Northwest

FRANCES WILLARD, with all her dreams for the future of American women, returned once more to her mother's cottage in Evanston. The dreams must wait awhile longer. Besides, Kate, her companion on the European tour, remained a paying guest in the Evanston household, which relieved any immediate financial need. Then, in almost casual fashion, the opportunity to serve in the larger capacity presented itself.

One day, as Frances was tacking down the stair carpet in her mother's house, she received a call from a neighbor, Mrs. Daniel Kidder, whose husband was a professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. Informally, Frances continued with her work as she chatted with her visitor. Questioned about her plans, she confessed they were somewhat vague. Suddenly Mrs. Kidder said: "Frank, I am amazed at you. Let someone else tack down carpets, and you take charge of the new college." "Very well," Frances replied, "I shall be glad to do so. I was only waiting to be asked." In this simple manner came the commitment that led to the election of Frances Willard as president of the Evanston College for Ladies.

While Frances was in Europe a group of Evanston women under the leadership of Mrs. Mary F. Haskin had conceived the idea of a woman's college for the Northwest. They had felt the impulse of the new educational movement for women which had received impetus by the opening of Vassar College in 1865. They proposed to establish in Evanston a second Vassar—a Vassar of the West. Even when these women were collecting funds to build Heck Hall for Garrett Biblical Institute, Mrs. Haskin had remarked that the next work of the kind they undertook must be for girls.

This little band of Evanston women with their visions of higher education for women were prophets of a new age. Traditionally, American women had been all but barred from the learning that was accessible to the opposite sex. In the early days of the republic

little attention was given to educating women; their life was circumscribed by the home. How, indeed, could the study of Latin or higher mathematics improve the making of puddings and pies? During the Colonial period only forty per cent of the women of New England, the most advanced section in the country, could sign their names. In truth, ignorance was so general that it was the fashion to ridicule the "learned maid."

In the early part of the nineteenth century three factors contributed toward a new day. The industrialization of the nation increasingly transferred work from the household to the factory, so that women were brought into open competitive work which necessitated training and rudimentary education. At the same time the ratio of women to men in the population of the eastern states began to show an increase. This surplus of females was confronted with the problem of economic self-sufficiency. Finally, in the twenties and thirties, as the Jacksonian democracy swept eastward from the West, the franchise was granted to white men. The new liberalism demanded a literate electorate or a free public school system. As the public schools rapidly spread across the land in the wake of the Horace Mann experiments in Massachusetts, an army of women was trained to staff them. By 1890 there were 244,342 female teachers in the public schools, as compared with 124,449 male teachers.

Before the Civil War only a few colleges had dared the experiment of coeducation. Oberlin College admitted women for degrees in 1837, and Antioch College six years later. Not until after Mann's successful experiment of coeducation in the normal schools did this system find general acceptance in the universities. The State University of Iowa in 1856 and the State University of Indiana in 1858 opened their doors to women. After 1870 the western universities rapidly admitted women.

Vassar (1865) was the first college exclusively for women which was at all comparable to the best schools for men. Many parents, moreover, long objected to coeducational colleges; especially fathers were loath to accept the new order of freedom for their daughters. Mrs. Mary F. Haskin was the mother of several daughters, for whom she desired the new education in a woman's college. As no adequate school for women existed in the Northwest, she conceived the idea of a woman's college in Evanston.[1] True, there was the

North Western Female College, established in 1855; but this school was far below college rank, with little prospect for improvement. Going first to the wife of the Methodist bishop, she won her support to the project. Then she importuned Dr. Henry Bannister, professor of Greek at Garrett Biblical Institute and president of the Board of Trustees of North Western Female College. As the proposed new school would be in competition with the Female College, she was somewhat dubious of her reception. But Dr. Bannister gave her encouragement. With the moral backing of these two staunch townsfolk, Mrs. Haskin called a meeting of Evanston women on September 25, 1868. She told them of her dream of a college for women with advantages equal to the best but whose trustees and officers should all be women. Enthusiastically they approved the project and organized "The Educational Association," with Mrs. Haskin as president.

Frances was in Europe when all this took place, but her mother wrote her (September 11, 1868) of the proposed school, saying in her quaint way: "Mrs. Haskin is making a great stir (and I think it will be to good purpose) about an endowment for a Ladies College. She says very often that she wants Frank for a mouthpiece to write appeals and she wants her soon. She sends an abundance of love to both and wants you to find out all you can about the best ways to educate women."

During the long winter months of 1868–69 the Evanston women faithfully met to discuss their plans. Their initial move was to secure a charter from the state and a gift of a park for a campus from the village council. In both these objectives they met success. The state legislature granted them a charter in 1869, and about the same time the village council set aside five acres. The council, however, made the stipulation that absolute title should not be conveyed unless the proposed building be completed within five years from date (1869) at a cost of not less than twenty-five thousand dollars.

Having accomplished this much, the women were at a loss how to proceed. Here their dream of a woman's college might have ended, had not a strong champion of women come to Northwestern University in the autumn of 1869. Dr. Erastus Otis Haven, lately president of the University of Michigan, had insisted before accepting the presidency of Northwestern University that women be admitted to this institution on the same basis as men. He did not

know at the time that the women of Evanston had started a woman's college, albeit on paper. As soon as he became acquainted with the situation, he wholeheartedly gave them his backing, without which the women could not have continued their project. The recent vote of the trustees (June, 1869) to admit women to Northwestern University was still in effect. But the board, after passing this legislation, did nothing further; no provision was made either for the housing or for the supervision of women students. The board had merely acquiesced in the form rather than the reality of coeducation, partly because of the limited finances of the institution and partly because of the apathy of the men, who were none too enthusiastic over the admission of women. As a shrewd administrator, Dr. Haven saw the advantage of supporting the new woman's college. This policy would at least take care of the financial problem of housing the girls and at the same time permit them to take courses in the university.

With the charter and the campus acquired, the Northwestern Female College remained the only obstacle in the way. To effect a merger of the old college with the proposed new college was a delicate matter, since Jones thought he had quite a fine school. It took infinite tact and patience to induce him to surrender his little school in the interest of the larger institution. But under polite pressure, Jones finally capitulated, signing the agreement on January 23, 1871.

The terms of the agreement provided that the Evanston College for Ladies would rent the Jones school building at the exorbitant figure of twenty-five hundred dollars a year until their own building was made ready. Although the agreement was made in January (1871), the formal surrender of the charter by Mr. Jones to the Evanston College for Ladies did not take place until the last commencement of the school in June. With the signing of this agreement, however, the Educational Association promptly voted: "Whereas it has now become necessary to place urgently before the public the educational and pecuniary claims of our enterprise, Resolved that we invite Miss Frances E. Willard to undertake this work in our behalf in the capacity of President elect of the Evanston College for Ladies."[2] Several weeks later the board voted to guarantee her payment of five hundred dollars for services from the first of March to the first of September, 1871. The responsibility for

the promotion and establishment of the new institution was now in the hands of Frances Willard. As the board expected to open school that autumn, she had to plot her course with care, for no time could be lost in fruitless experimentations. She planned a three-point program: a speaking campaign, circularization of churches and parents by pamphlets and letters, and a Fourth of July celebration.

The speaking campaign was launched on the evening of April 10, 1871, at the Congregational Church in Evanston. As this was the debut of the Evanston College for Ladies, most of the town came to hear all about it. Miss Willard chose to speak on the subject "People Out of Whom More Might Have Been Made"—a subject which elicited the comment from one Chicago newspaper that the topic might apply to men as well as to women. Judging from the comment of the *Chicago Evening Post* (April 11, 1871), the young orator spoke most eloquently in the cause of woman's education. Dr. Haven followed her with a short talk pleading for funds. He also gave a résumé of what the Evanston women had thus far accomplished but explained that the Educational Association of Ladies which had been organized by Mrs. Haskin in September, 1868, had disintegrated. He put the question to the women in the audience, "Do you want it revived?" They voted for it by an overwhelming majority.[3]

The mass meeting, Miss Willard's stirring address, and Haven's adroit reorganization of the association kindled public enthusiasm for the unique project. In the succeeding months Frances Willard lectured in the towns and villages of the Northwest, recounting the advantages the new school would offer. Supplementing this, she sent out hundreds of letters to ministers and editors asking their co-operation in spreading the news about the Ladies College. But by far the most important method used to awaken public interest in the college was the Woman's Fourth of July.

Meanwhile, the Jones school was drawing to an end. The final commencement was held on June 22, 1871, and the formal surrender of his charter made to Mrs. Haskin, organizer and first president of the Educational Association. In accepting the precious document Mrs. Haskin stated that she received the charter with mingled feelings of thankfulness and responsibility. When the Evanston College was first projected, this simple manner of coming together, she said, had not been thought of. "Yet this younger child of prom-

ise was not begotten of ill will or enmity to her elder sister, but she rather sprang from an earnest desire to give greater opportunities for the highest literary attainments, at less expenditure, to our young women."[4] The enterprise had been greatly helped by the generosity of the trustees and faculty of Northwestern University. Especially had President Haven and Dr. Bannister earnestly labored to make the new enterprise a success. So ended the old Female College with its outmoded name and method, and thus the way was finally cleared for the new institution. This last commencement of the North Western Female College was also of interest because at this time Mr. Jones conferred upon Frances Willard the honorary degree of Mistress of Science.

The last phase of the promotional work for the Evanston college was strenuously pushed during the summer months of 1871. Mrs. A. H. Hoge, the new president of the Woman's Educational Association, was well known for her work in the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. Taking hold of this new enterprise with the vigor of her war work, she suggested—yea, she commanded—that they "pre-empt at once the coming Fourth of July, the University Campus, and the Chicago Press in the interest of 'Our Girls.' "[5] But the responsibility for carrying through this "pre-emption" rested entirely upon Frances Willard. She was only thirty-two, and, as she herself said, her studies in Europe were hardly the best preparation for such a practical undertaking. For weeks the affair "haunted her like a ghost." She went to sleep and awakened with the dread thought of that approaching Fourth of July.

A circular she prepared was sent out by the "cart-load." The bottom line of it read: "NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN OF THE PRE-EMPTION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY IN THE INTEREST OF THE GIRLS OF THE NORTHWEST." Furthermore, she arranged such a program as would entice people for miles around to spend the holiday at Evanston. She secured General Arthur C. Ducat of the United States Army to make the address of welcome; Professor R. L. Cumnock of Northwestern University to read the Declaration of Independence; and Senator F. R. Doolittle of Wisconsin to give the oration of the day. A parade led by the popular Masonic band—the Ellsworth Zouaves—preceded the program, and competitive games and sports were scheduled for the afternoon.

Such a program promised to be a gala affair, and, as the *Tribune* announced the morning of the Fourth, "everyone is going to Evanston." Special trains carried the crowds to and from the North Shore suburb, and special steamers plied back and forth all day between Chicago and Evanston. A perfect summer day was that memorable Fourth of July, bright and balmy—an ideal holiday to bring out the crowds. They came in hordes—by train, by boat, by carriage, by horseback, and even afoot; ten thousand of them swooped down on the tiny village of Evanston for a full day of celebration. It was a day of glorification for Frances. The "pre-emption" was a success.

At the conclusion of the morning's program Dr. Haven made a plea for subscriptions to the new college building. Governor John Evans of Colorado, one of the founders of Northwestern University, pledged $10,000, and two Evanstonians, Rev. Obadiah Huse and L. L. Greenleaf, each pledged a like amount, according to the *Chicago Tribune* (July 5, 1871). After the raising of this substantial sum, there followed the laying of the cornerstone. This concluded the morning's festivities. After luncheon on the campus lawn came the exciting events of the day: two regattas, two ball games, and the colorful drill of the Ellsworth Zouaves.

From this experience Frances Willard greatly implemented the training she had gained in the building of Heck Hall and secured a valuable lesson in organization and propaganda. She had been hurled into the promotional work of the school with little preparation, and, as she said, "it was a case of sink or swim." But she had learned something of the psychology of influencing people. Ten thousand people came to the "pre-emption," while only a few hundred would have been interested in the dedication of a female school. In after years she was exceptionally clever at the coining of words and phrases with which to sway an audience or dismay her enemies. The ordeal to which she unwittingly committed herself when she became president of the Ladies College was the crucible which tried her mettle and brought out her qualities of leadership.

The success of the Fourth of July affair insured the opening of the school on September 13, 1871. The opening enrolment was 236 pupils, or nearly twice as many as Jones had ever had during the fifteen years of his school.[6] Yet the college which the women and Dr. Haven had so earnestly labored for was in no way similar to

Vassar College. It was, in reality, only a woman's department of Northwestern University. Dr. Haven said in his annual report before the Board of Trustees of the university (June 27, 1871) that it was understood that the greater part of the education of their students was to be from the university, the Ladies College instructing only in music, drawing, and similar studies. The catalogue of the Ladies College (1872–73), moreover, defined the objective of the school as providing convenient and economical residence for young ladies as an aid to "Northwestern University to accomplish its nobly undertaken task—the higher education of women." In his *Autobiography* Haven explained that, although the Ladies College was a distinct institution, it was expected so to co-operate with the work of the university as practically to form a department of it without expense to the general fund. He was convinced that women in college needed "care, home and cheap board."

The connection of the college with Northwestern University gave the new institution greater prominence than it would otherwise have had. Frances Willard was thus suddenly thrust into public notice. The *New York Independent* (April 6, 1871) took note of the event, gently chided Northwestern University for its tardiness in recognizing women, and said: "The western Methodists are coming round on the woman movement."

With the opening of the Ladies College, Frances turned her attention to the problem of administration and teaching. She made a fresh approach, sweeping aside outworn policies, and pursued the newer ideas of her day. Her boldness and courage are nowhere more clearly perceived than in the radical changes she made in the system of government inaugurated by William Jones. As the new school was a continuation of the old one, her departure from established customs was all the more noteworthy. Twelve years had elapsed since she had been an unhappy student in the North Western Female College, but she still remembered the oppressive rules and ceaseless supervision. This influenced her to abolish rules in favor of an "Honor Roll" and "Self-government."

One of the most hated requirements of the old North Western Female College was the processional to church every Sunday morning. Miss Willard now permitted the girls to go either singly or in groups. While today this would seem a most sensible arrangement, the conservative Evanstonians of 1871 were shocked. Undisturbed



FRANCES WILLARD, 1872

by the ensuing criticism, President Willard proceeded to introduce even more radical changes in the rules. The literary societies of Northwestern University invited the girls of the Ladies College to join them. As the societies met on the university campus in the evening and as the young ladies were not allowed out of the dormitory after dark unless chaperoned, this invitation presented a real difficulty. The advantages of participation in the literary societies were obvious. The criticism that would follow the breaking of tradition to secure this advantage was equally obvious. The young president conferred with Dr. Haven, president of the university, and to her delight she found that he also held the opinion that the time was ripe to break the convention of imprisoning girls after the sun had set. Moreover, he held that the advantages from joint participation in these groups would not be limited to the young women, for doubtless the young men would thereby be encouraged to greater endeavors in their literary and oratorical efforts.

The announcement of the acceptance of the invitation caused Evanston to buzz with gossip. Some of the faculty of the university predicted "dire" results. The university paper—the *Tripod* (January 20, 1872)—said: "Whether this radical change is expedient or not remains to be seen." With so much criticism rampant, Miss Willard fearfully awaited the outcome of her experiment. One breath of scandal, and her school would be ruined and herself discredited. The fact that Evanston was a Methodist community added to the responsibility of the venture, for the slightest error would be promptly and vigorously condemned by the church throughout the nation. By the end of the year, however, the innovation was pronounced a success, and the townspeople had ceased to gape at young women who attended a literary club in the evening.

As a means of success for these changes, President Willard introduced the "honor" system. Calling the girls together she made quite an effective appeal to them:

> Here is an enterprise the like of which was never seen, a college with women trustees and faculty, a woman president and women students. Up yonder in the grove is a first-class men's college, and to every one of its advantages we are invited, on one condition—all of us must at all times be Christian ladies. Now, girls, I place your destiny in your own hands; I confide mine to you. . . . . Besides all this, and greater, the destiny of this woman's college, and, to some degree, that of the co-education experiment, rests with you young creatures, fair and sweet.

The girls organized the Roll of Honor Club, wrote a constitution, and elected officers. Every girl was eligible to the Roll of Honor, but she had to have one month's faultless record in deportment. Conversely, a girl might lose her rating as an "honor girl" by some misdemeanor, in which case she could win reinstatement in the same way. Scholarship was not a factor in this system, but character was the thing. Those with an outstanding record in the Roll of Honor were elected by that club each year to the "self-governing" list. These few favored ones enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the faculty except as to the "lights-out" hour. Students were elected either to the Roll of Honor Club or to the "self-governing" list at evening prayers when they pledged themselves before the school to accept the high standard of conduct of these organizations.

By the end of the first year all the girls in the college were members of the Honor Roll Club, and twelve girls were on the "self-governing" list. The system had two advantages: it solved the irksome responsibility of discipline, which Frances Willard had contended with for years, and it also cushioned the relaxed supervision of students.

The plan, however, had even greater implications than this. Frances envisaged a school which should be an elaboration of the home, wherein students would feel as free to seek advice of their teacher as of their parents. She called it "Moral Horticulture." As a parent helped a child with his lessons, so she felt it the duty of this "horticulturist" to guide the student in his intellectual and moral development. To achieve the best results for this system Miss Willard advocated campus buildings where students and teachers should be associated together. Because she believed thoroughly in coeducation, her utopian college would have the building for men on one side of the central group of campus buildings and that for women on the other side. But there should be a common dining-hall, where men and women might group themselves around small tables. The dormitory or "home" building should be so arranged as to provide for a teacher and family with his group of students; but each student should have his own individual room.

Since she used the home as her model for a college, she felt that discipline should be on the same plane. From observation she came

to the conclusion that girls and boys are trusted by parents in relation to their character. The honest, reliable son or daughter is invariably wholly trusted, while the deceitful child is "governed." Therefore, the trusted student was to be given greater privileges than one whose reputation was not quite so steady.

Miss Willard was very definite in her views that coeducation meant more than merely opening the doors of a man's university to women! Women should be given home surroundings with the same sympathy, care, and supervision that they would receive at home. Thus she favored a middle-of-the-road policy between the usual irresponsible system for men and the repressive system for women then current in most schools. "The success of co-education movement is so precious in my eyes, that I would not hazard the admission of young women, on the same basis as young men, to colleges hitherto open to men alone. I have great faith in human nature—and in girl-nature most of all—but I do not desire to see an unformed character subjected to the varied tribulations here involved, without a guide," she declared.[7]

It has often been asserted that Frances Willard initiated the honor system and student government now used in most schools of higher education. This is inaccurate. First, her conception of student government was merely an honor system for deportment. Student government as known today involves student regulation of all their activities. Her system worked because her school was small and the students devoted to her. However, the idea of an honor system had been used and discussed since the early 1830's.[8] Although her special adaptation of the honor system with its merits and demerits may have been unique, it did not carry over into general usage. The first fully developed system of student government in a woman's college was introduced at Bryn Mawr in 1891. Frances Willard was thus the originator neither of the honor system nor of the student-government system. But this fact does not detract from her imagination and resourcefulness in adopting a new system for achieving good behavior without discipline.

She also introduced other unique features. Especially notable were the "Good Behavior Club" and the "Assembly Hour." Frances Willard had had an affection for clubs ever since those lonely years on the farm when she and her sister had formed organizations with imaginary members. The Good Behavior Club

was the most popular feature of the college and was concerned with etiquette. Her method of teaching good manners was so subtle that no girl could feel gauche or ill at ease. The girls merely dropped their questions into a box, which put the discussion entirely upon the impersonal plane. But the most delightful feature of the club was the dramatized representations of White House receptions, in which the girls took turns in impersonating the hostess. As an encouragement for good manners Frances arranged with a Chicago man to award a gold medal each year for the girl chosen as having the most charming personality.

Another unique feature of the Ladies College was the Assembly Hour. Each Friday afternoon a lecture was given in the chapel of the Ladies College which all the women of both the college and the university were expected to attend.[9] President Willard, members of her faculty, and guest-speakers provided the programs. Topics ranged from "Imagination" to "Your Opportunity" and included travel talks by the young president on Europe and Egypt. The university school paper—the *Tripod* (October 21, 1872)—acclaimed the Friday afternoon lectures as the most interesting feature of the week.

In addition to her duties as administrator of the Ladies College, Frances Willard also taught two courses. Here again her lively imagination and unusual approach deserve comment. She taught English composition to all the girls in both the Ladies College and Northwestern University. She chose simple, practical subjects for them, such as "Our Museum" or "One of Our Friday Afternoons." A few of the best essays were then published in Chicago and Evanston newspapers.[10] This aroused no end of interest among the students. The other course she taught was even more unique. This was "Art and Aesthetics." The course was an outgrowth of her interest in painting, which developed during the years in Europe. While abroad she had collected several hundred reproductions of famous paintings. Some of these she now had made into stereopticon slides, so that her students had the advantage of the study of many masterpieces of European galleries. Today such a method in the teaching of art is a commonplace in every college and university. But seventy years ago her technique was novel. It should be remembered that the Middle West was backward in appreciation of art, as their interest and energy had been poured into industry and

commerce; even New York became art-conscious only through the efforts of P. T. Barnum, who billed Jenny Lind as a "sweet warbler," much to the amusement of Paris and London.

Many schools of the period emphasized religion, partly, no doubt, because in mid-century the churches established numerous colleges, especially in the West. Accordingly, Miss Willard opened and closed her classes with prayer and held a fifteen-minute devotional service each evening. She also made it a practice frequently to visit her students in their rooms, when she talked over their problems. The religious atmosphere had been equally prominent in Mary Lyon's school at Mount Holyoke and the Catharine Beecher schools. In short, it was an accepted ritual of the times.

But interesting and unusual as was this Ladies College of the Northwest, all was not serene. Although the college was well started and had many excellent features, it lacked adequate financing and experienced administrators. These two limitations led to difficulties within the college and later with the university. The Chicago fire (October 9, 1871), which came only a few weeks after the opening of the college, was a catastrophe from which the school never recovered. Many people who had made pledges to the institution were unable to fulfil them. The Woman's Board of Trustees of the Ladies College was faced with the high rental of $2,500, and in addition they had to raise the money for their own building or forfeit the ground given them by the village. In view of the widespread suffering caused by the fire, the board reduced tuition, which affected their current income. Yet Mr. Jones refused to make any corresponding adjustment in their rent.

So distressed were the women over finances after this tragedy that Dr. Haven and President Willard wrote an "Appeal," which was sent to the *Christian Advocate* for publication, and special copies were also printed for general distribution. As little money had been raised by the time the second instalment of the rent was due, the women appealed again to Mr. Jones; but, unimpressed by the catastrophe of the fire, he continued to demand the full rental as formerly agreed upon.[11] The women managed to slide along on current expenses remarkably well, showing a deficit the first year of only $261.53. The next year, however, they showed a surplus of $259.88. But it was the money they needed for building in order to hold their land that made the situation desperate.

Had the college board been able to secure a building with a reasonable rental and had they made no attempt to erect their own structure, they might have been able to achieve financial stability despite the havoc of the fire. But the village council had prescribed a time limit of five years for them to build or forfeit the beautiful park which the council had donated. The year 1874 marked the end of this period of grace, hence the pressure to secure funds for the new building. To add to the confusion of the situation, Mrs. Haskin, the founder of the college and one of the richest women in Evanston, resigned in May, 1872. The board accepted her resignation with the statement that they were "sorry that any misunderstanding had arisen." As Mrs.Haskin was best qualified to assume this added responsibility, her resignation was a blow to the struggling college. A month later, however, the women were a little encouraged by the offer of S. P. Lunt, a prominent Evanstonian. He agreed to give the board a share in the profits of a real estate venture he had just made, provided that they raised $10,000 in new subscriptions and put in usuable shape $40,000 of their old pledges. The woman's share of his profits, he said, would be as large as the amount they raised by new subscriptions up to $30,000.[12]

Frances Willard, overburdened as she was as president and teacher of this institution, was now asked by her board to take time to help on the collection of pledges. As the months dragged on and failure seemed more and more apparent, the women realized that they stood to lose the valuable property deeded to them by the village and the Lunt donation as well unless they could secure help from some quarter. Thus they were almost forced to appeal to Northwestern University for assistance. Other factors, however, also pointed to this solution.

The Ladies College had received a setback when Mrs. Haskin resigned in the spring of 1872. A greater setback came when Dr. Haven, president of Northwestern University, resigned in the autumn of the same year. His interest in the Ladies College and his counsel and advice had been invaluable to the struggling institution. In his place there now came a young man quite out of sympathy with the project and bitter toward Frances Willard. In October, 1872, Charles Fowler became the president of the university, the one man least favored by Frances. He was ambitious to increase the size of the university and make a "record." A few of

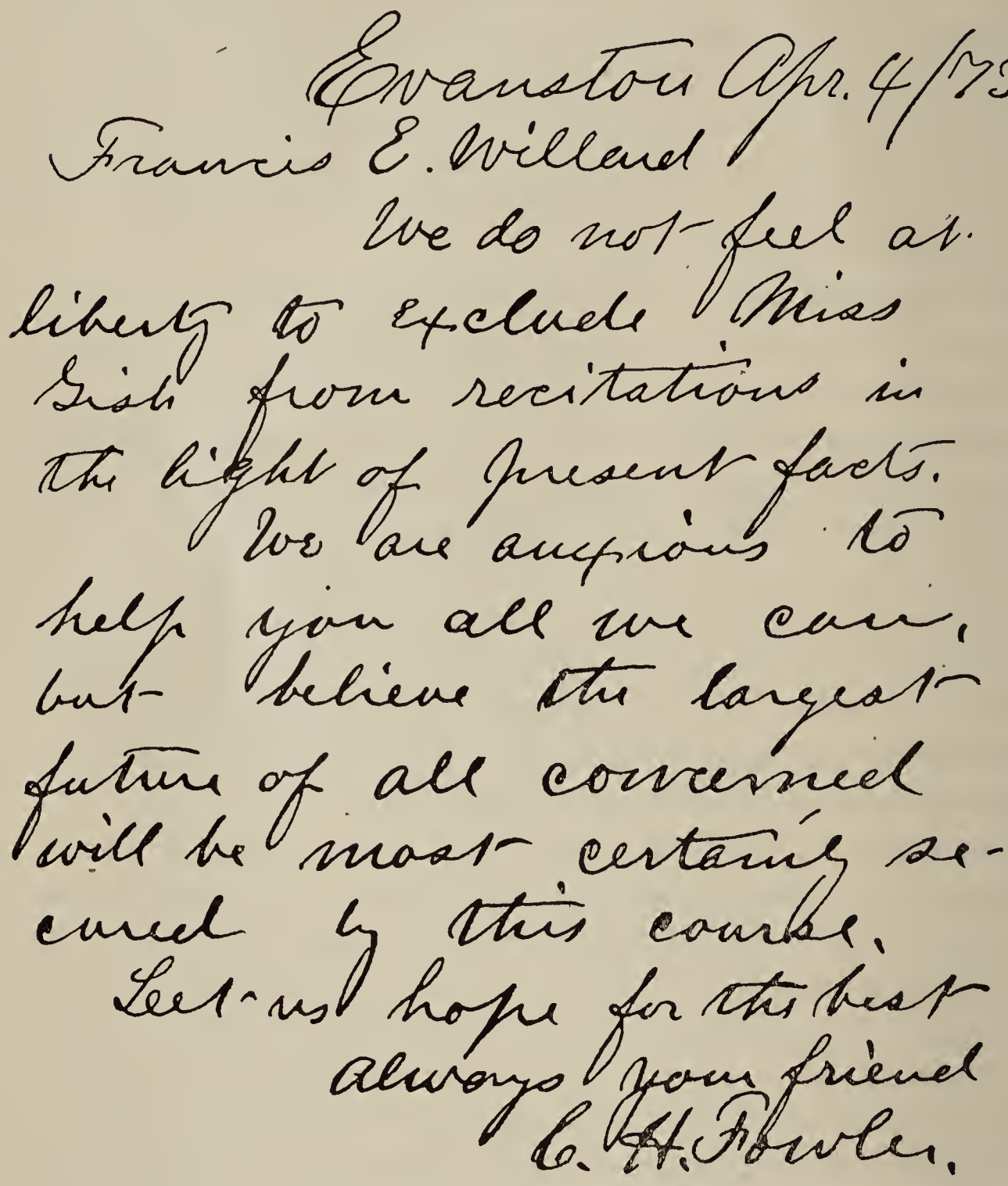
the leading universities by now had established coeducation, so that he had a very different attitude toward the place of the Ladies College. Thus friction between the two institutions was not slow in developing. The policy which Dr. Haven very clearly laid down was well summed up in the last report he made before the board of Northwestern University in June, 1872, in which he said that there was no question that the university should be opened alike to men and to women but that special facilities should be provided for the women both because this had been done for the men and because it would be especially difficult for the women to find suitable living quarters in the village.

The increased ratio of women students at Northwestern University over that of the University of Michigan, he stated, was due to the suitable accommodations provided by the Ladies College. Therefore, the Ladies College was an essential of the university, whether it was owned outright by them or under its own trustees and faculty. Hence he asked that all young women entering the university be required to register with the Ladies College and pay their incidental fee to them. This report was immediately followed by the reading of a resolution by Frances Willard, which she presented on behalf of the board of the Ladies College, requiring all women to come under the supervision of the Ladies College, even those enrolled directly in Northwestern University.

Yet, despite the clarity both of Dr. Haven's report and of the Willard Resolution, which was approved by the board of Northwestern University (June, 1872), trouble arose as soon as Dr. Haven left the University.[13] President Fowler's immediate aim was to bring the Ladies College under the full direction of the university. He took the view that women might register in the university without coming under the supervision of the Ladies College. But the Ladies College had to control government over all the women, whether in the university or in the college for two reasons: first, they needed the incidental fee which they collected from each woman student and, second, they must exercise complete authority in order to maintain discipline.

If the women in the university could live wherever they chose without any kind of supervision, President Willard felt it would have a demoralizing effect upon her own students. Thus her idea of an associated or affiliated college collided with President Fowler's

idea of coeducation. The clash was colored by their personal feelings from their days of courtship. Within two months after Fowler became president of Northwestern University, Frances Willard was so perturbed over the changed relations of the two schools



Evanston Apr. 4/73

Francis E. Willard

We do not feel at liberty to exclude Miss Gish from recitations in the light of present facts.

We are anxious to help you all we can, but believe the largest future of all concerned will be most certainly secured by this course.

Let us hope for the best

always your friend

C. H. Fowler.

LETTER FROM CHARLES FOWLER

that she wrote Dr. Haven asking his advice. He replied (January 2, 1873): "I do not know enough about the controversy to enter into it thoroughly, but I think your policy is right. . . . . But all theories should be tested by fact. I believe your theory is right; and the practice based upon it, what I have seen confirms this conviction."

A note from Fowler to Frances (see above) amplifies the bicker-

ing which developed between them. Miss Gish no doubt either infringed some rule, for which misdemeanor President Willard asked that she be barred from class, or else she had failed to pay her incidental fee to the Ladies College. The latter was more probably the case. This friction with the university, in addition to the financial morass in which the Ladies College was bogged, made its future increasingly dubious. The Woman's Board finally felt the responsibility of the college was too great. Further to complicate this trying situation, both the wife and the sister of President Fowler were on the board of the Ladies College. Myra J. Fowler was elected treasurer in January, 1873, and Jennie Fowler Willing had been a trustee since the autumn of 1871. How much these women took part in the controversy is not recorded, but certainly they added to the awkwardness of the situation. Furthermore, husbands of some of the women on the board of the Ladies College were also on the board of Northwestern University. Thus the trouble became something of a family squabble.

There is no evidence that Fowler exerted pressure either upon Frances Willard or upon the Woman's Board for merging the Ladies College with Northwestern University other than his lack of cooperation. Yet this was the consummation he desired, as shown by his annual report to the board in June, 1873. He frankly stated that the relation of the two schools was an anomaly fraught with embarrassment and hence should be ended as soon as possible. He advocated complete union of the two institutions and presented a plan whereby all rights and property of the Evanston College for Ladies be transferred to Northwestern University. He also suggested that several members of the trustees and faculty be included in the personnel of the larger institution.

On the other hand, the Ladies College had reached a place where it either had to merge with the university or let its enterprise fail. A delegation of women from the board of the Ladies College therefore met with the board of the university in June, 1873, and formally presented a resolution asking for consolidation of the two institutions. The university board voted to accept the petition, whereupon articles of agreement were drawn up. The agreement provided for five women on the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University, one of whom was to be on the executive committee if the women of the board so desired.[14]

RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY FRANCES WILLARD TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF NORTH-WESTERN UNIVERSITY, JUNE 25, 1872

* * *

WHEREAS, *the Trustees of the Ladies College clearly recognize that the success of their undertaking, during its first and most difficult year, could never have been achieved but for the powerful aid and influence of the North Western University, which has displayed towards the college a liberality unrivalled in the history of educational enterprises, therefore*

RESOLVED, *That we as Trustees of the College desire to express to the Trustees and Faculty of the University our profound sense of the benefits so freely conferred and our sincere gratitude for the same.*

WHEREAS *this plan aims to place lady students in all Departments of the University under the moral oversight of the faculty of the Ladies College, thus affording to patrons safe-guards for their daughters not otherwise to be obtained, and for this purpose contemplates that young ladies will register their names with lady-teachers at the college and will be under the immediate care of its President in frequent general exercises, and contemplates also that young ladies will have their incidental fees ($5 per term) placed to the credit of the college, and paying their tuition to the University, and*

WHEREAS *the adaptation of this plan to the circumstances of the case have been plainly demonstrated during the year by the training and prosperity that have characterized our school, therefore*

RESOLVED *that the Trustees of the College respectfully and earnestly request the Trustees of the University to attest their approval to the arrangement herein described by giving to it official sanction.*

RESOLVED *that Mrs. A. J. Brown, Mrs. J. F. Willing and Miss F. E. Willard be appointed a committee to convey to the Trustees of the University the foregoing statements and requests.*

ELIZABETH M. GREENLEAF
President

EMMA B. WHITE
Sec. Board of Trustees

MS. Northwestern University Minutes

The Ladies College was incorporated as part of Northwestern University and named the "Woman's College of Northwestern University." Frances Willard became dean of the Woman's College and professor of "English," and of "Art and Aesthetics." She wrote Edward Everett Hale (July 26, 1873) that her work would be about the same but that the merger with the university would secure greater uniformity, harmony, and efficiency. Dr. Fowler, she added, "manifests a breadth of tolerance, a zeal and enterprise which promise great things for the future!"

Therefore, as the Evanston College for Ladies developed, it was not a college but a combination dormitory and seminary. It provided proper housing for the women students and also offered five courses not listed in the university catalogue: fine arts, music, health, home and home industries, English, and modern languages. Whatever other courses students desired could be taken at Northwestern University. The report of the superintendent of public instruction of Illinois called the Evanston College for Ladies, "the Ladies Department of Northwestern University."[15] The *Chicago Evening Mail* (May 2, 1872), whose editor was Oliver Willard, Frances' brother, commented that the Ladies College was so intimately connected with Northwestern University that the advantages of either were the property of both. The Ladies College had only one commencement, that of June, 1872. Six pupils were graduated, five were given the "Laureate of Science" and one the "Laureate of Arts."

The statement sometimes made that Frances Willard was the first president of a woman's college is rather misleading. Emma Willard and Mary Lyon, although called "principal," had far more power and offered a much more impressive curriculum than did Frances Willard with her superior title. The Ladies College, therefore, neither offered college subjects nor awarded college degrees. The merit of the institution was its close relationship to the university. Had the Chicago fire (October 9, 1871) not come to cripple their work, the Ladies College might have developed under the guiding hand of Frances Willard into an affiliated college comparable to Barnard College with Columbia University. The Ladies College, nevertheless, was a unique development in the educational history of the Northwest.

CHAPTER VIII

Dean of Women

THE position as dean of the Woman's College of Northwestern University appeared to Frances Willard as a magnificent advancement. Her meager salary of one thousand dollars was increased immediately to eighteen hundred, with the stipulation that it be further increased two hundred dollars annually for the succeeding three years. The only apparent difference in her work was that men now came to her classes. Furthermore, with the incorporation of the Ladies College into the university, she confidently expected the end of her difficulties. In her address before the Woman's Congress in October, 1873, she said that the union of the two schools would end the financial struggle of the college and would also "bring a reduction of the friction in the machinery of the related institutions." Although the consolidation did bring financial stability to the college, "the friction of the machinery" only increased.

Dean Willard had endeavored to protect the rights of the Ladies College by a private agreement between herself and President Fowler before the union of the two schools became final. The old point of contention between them as to where women students should reside and who should govern them was clearly set forth in this agreement under Articles 7, 8, and 9. But this understanding Fowler promptly flouted. The old conflict over jurisdiction soon broke out again with increased fury. There had been, however, an undercurrent of hostility against her from the very beginning. Dr. Haven had forced the issue of coeducation on the board in 1869 and had maintained their tacit support to it through the weight of his dominating personality. With the pressure of his influence removed, this dissident faction joined with President Fowler in open opposition to Frances Willard. Moreover, Charles Fowler had never forgiven Frances for their broken engagement a decade earlier. To assuage

POINTS IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY GIVES HIS CONCURRENCE

* * *

1. The propriety of having a shorter course of Study especially for Ladies is to be carefully considered by the Faculty of the University; (in this consideration, the claims, of the "Historical and Aesthetic" Course published in the Ladies College Catalogue of 1873 being fairly canvassed); and if at any time the Faculty decide upon establishing such a course, the Ladies College Faculty shall conduct the graduating exercises which its adoption involves, the presiding officer of the University conferring the Diploma.

2. The Annual Prize Contest in English Composition, the Musical Exhibitions, the Friday P. M. Lecture (with its Church Roll-Call) and the Annual Address before the Lady Students shall in the future as in the past, be in charge of and conducted by the Faculty of the Ladies' College.

3. The merits of Miss Jackson as Instructor in French in University Classes, and Mrs. Norton and Miss Reed for places in the Preparatory Department, the coming year, are to be fairly canvassed by the Faculty before choosing other teachers for positions for which these are candidates. Also Misses Pettengill and McClure are to be continued for at least one year.

Mr. Crosby's School and the School for Kindergartens to have their claims fairly considered. S. H. Stevenson, M.D. to be continued the coming year as Resident Physician and Lecturer on Health Topics.

4. The prizes now established to be continued—if the parties who have established them stand by them.

5. The S.S. Normal Department to have its claims to continuance fairly investigated.

6. In advertising, the Woman's College to have fair recognition and at discretion of President of University, separate advertisement.

7. Young ladies will present their credentials and register their names and have their homes assigned to them under the auspices of the Woman's College, and will present to the president of the University or the Principal of the Preparatory Department the Treasurer's Receipt for tuition countersigned at the College as a proof that this has been done.

8. Teachers, the chief part of whose duties consist in disciplining within the College building, may be nominated either by the Head of the University or of the Ladies College then elected.

9. Young ladies who refuse to board where the Head of the Woman's College says, shall not be allowed to enter classes or be otherwise connected with the University.

June 19th, 1873

Agreed to so far as within my jurisdiction.

[*Signed*] C. H. Fowler
Frances E. Willard

his painful disappointment he repeatedly attempted to bar her professional progress.[1] Circumstances played into his hands.

A problem arose over the temporary housing of the women students which released a tempest of long-repressed jealousy, hatred, and malice. With the final cancellation of the Jones lease on December 8, 1873,[2] the women students had to be lodged wherever rooms could be found pending the completion of their own building. This meant that the girls were scattered through the village in individual homes, which rendered discipline difficult. To meet the exigency of this situation Frances added "self-report" to her honor-roll system. Each week the girls were asked to answer categorically some thirteen form questions presented to them.

Although Frances realized this was not an especially good system of supervision, it was the best temporary measure she could devise with several hundred girls quartered privately throughout the village. But it precipitated a raging conflict. The boys on the campus were not subject to similar regulations, so they demanded that the girls be as free as themselves. By the end of November the story had reached the Chicago newspapers that the girls at Northwestern University were compelled to go to a "confessional" once a week. The questionnaire was ridiculed and held up to scorn. Although the rules sound rather severe today, most parents in the seventies wanted to be assured that their daughters were protected as much in their school environment as at home. The girls were not permitted to leave Evanston without permission of the dean, accept invitations, or go out evenings after seven o'clock without permission, nor were they permitted to receive calls without the knowledge and consent of the dean. The university student paper, the *Tripod* (December, 1873), took up the battle by wholly condemning the system. The "age of the sword had passed," it said, "but the spirit of chivalry is not dead." Gallantly the boys began to shout "equal rights to both sexes."

To add to the acrimonious confusion, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was in Chicago when the controversy flared up, condemned Dean Willard's system of government—to a reporter of the *Chicago Tribune* (November 27, 1873). As Mrs. Stanton was a well-known national figure at this time, the assault was a stinging rebuke to Frances Willard before her own townspeople and university colleagues. In later years it was quite generally known that Frances

had little liking for Mrs. Stanton and little faith in her leadership, which probably dated from this cruel incident. For weeks the controversy raged, with people excitedly writing the newspapers their view on the situation. Many of these supported Dean Willard's position, and many condemned it. Finally, the dean answered her sharp critics in a simple, dignified announcement in which she quoted from the most recent catalogue of the university to substantiate her actions and stated that the same system as always had been pursued with the one modification of "self-report," which was a temporary expedient until they could again house all their women in one building. This unfavorable publicity, however, gave her enemies something tangible to pounce upon. At the January faculty meeting, therefore, a resolution was introduced that the government of ladies for the remainder of the year be put upon the same general basis as that of "gentlemen." The resolution was referred to a committee empowered to investigate the government in the Woman's College. President Fowler was chairman of this committee of four faculty members, which included Frances Willard.[3] Three weeks later the committee reported its findings to the faculty.

To have this matter dragged before the faculty, to have a committee of investigation appointed, to have her authority overturned—all this was humiliation enough. But to have her former fiancé assume the direction of such investigation introduced the personal element with added embarrassment. Thus hedged in by her foes, Frances Willard turned to the women for help. After the faculty meeting in January and probably after she realized her own ineffectiveness on the committee of investigation, she asked for a joint meeting of the old board of the Ladies College and the new Advisory Committee (woman's standing committee of the Northwestern University board, created in June, 1873, to supervise the Woman's College).[4] Accordingly, the joint session of the old and the new boards convened on February 14, 1874, just three days before the faculty meeting at which Fowler was to make his "committee" report. It is conspicuous that neither the wife nor the sister of President Fowler was present at this special meeting, although both women were members of the old college board. Thus may one feel the charged currents and cross-currents of this moving drama of personalities.

The women deliberated upon the situation as presented to them by Frances Willard and passed a resolution appointing Mrs. E. H. Miller as representative of the board to the Committee on Government of Ladies (set up by the university faculty) to inform them that the wishes of the women were that all young ladies in the institution should have some supervision.[5] Thus the women loyally supported her in her effort to maintain the Haven tradition of supervision over the girls. But when the faculty met on February 17, her report was so lightly considered as not even to be recorded in the minutes. President Fowler's report was promptly accepted, which provided that the faculty should make the rules for the women living in the college building, that these rules should be executed by the dean, but that admonition of the women should be by the dean only when so ordered by the faculty.

The faculty then voted to appoint a committee to prepare the rules for the women living in the college building, which the dean was to enforce. This committee consisted of three members: President Fowler, Frances Willard, and Dr. Oliver Marcy.[6] The committee reported its recommendations to the faculty at the meeting of April 14. The faculty approved the twenty-one rules submitted by the committee. They included such prohibitions as students' driving nails in the furniture or throwing waste material out of the window.

Thus Frances Willard was publicly humiliated, and President Fowler won his little triumph. She had held little actual power as the president of the Ladies College, but as dean of the Woman's College she was stripped of all power. Such minute details as the installation of a doorbell for their building had to be authorized by the treasurer of the university. These petty annoyances of administration were the more glaring because of the conscious effort being made to belittle her in the eyes of her students. As head of the Woman's College she conducted evening service for the girls. But suddenly one evening, without her knowledge or consent, the steward of the Woman's College took her place. Of the painful incident she said: "I saw the steward conducting evening prayers while I sat by on the platform and my girls looked whole encyclopedias of rebellion and wrath." Furthermore, without her knowledge or her consent, men students were sent to the woman's college building for meals. Dean Willard protested, but the experi-

ment was not ended until it showed itself to be a failure. The position of dean, therefore, which promised such a glowing future in the summer of 1873, had become in a few months a position of humiliation.

In the midst of the storm, however, came a most encouraging tribute. Frances had participated in the Woman's Congress in the autumn of 1873 and had met there some of the nation's most distinguished women. At this time, also, she became acquainted with the leaders of Sorosis, the most illustrious group of women of that day. During the school period, on a cold day in February, three townswomen entered the classroom. At the first pause in the recitation one of the women, Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin, rose and made a surprise speech, according to the *Evanston Index* (February 14, 1874). She said that she was speaking on behalf of the executive committee of Sorosis, who had elected Frances Willard to honorary membership in the society. Presenting to her the badge of the society, she expressed the hope that "the sympathy and approval of these earnest workers in behalf of womanity will give you strength and encouragement in your labors for the higher education of woman and her equal participation in all the privileges accorded to her brother, man." The confidence and loyalty of these Evanston women were balm to her distraught spirit and aching heart.

That President Fowler had a personal grievance against Frances Willard seems clear, but what of the trustees and the faculty? It is more difficult to make an appraisal of these honorable men. But excerpts from speeches made by two prominent members of the university explain somewhat the current skepticism regarding coeducation. Dr. W. H. Wheeler, who was a charter member of the Board of Trustees, took an active part in the discussion on coeducation at a meeting of the Central College Association held at Northwestern University, as reported by the *Chicago Tribune* (August 26, 1869). At this time he read a paper on "College Education of the Sexes" in which he said that, while there should be no barrier placed on woman's education, it should be realized that there is a wide difference between the sexes. Women were intellectually different from men and pursued a different career from men. Hence, he said, he objected to mixed schools.

Daniel Bonbright came to Northwestern University in 1856, the year after the school opened. He lived through the period when the

university was open only to men, the Haven period when recognition was given to women, and the days of the Ladies College and its subsequent union with Northwestern University. He had likewise lived through the period when coeducation had spread until every state university in the West accepted it. As acting president in 1900-1902, he said in his annual report to the board that the system of co-education was still on trial, not, however, because of any difference in the intellectual ability of the young women, for the scholarship report and the Phi Beta Kappa awards attested to their competence; but this did not conclude the argument: the menacing condition was the social distractions and dissipations which dilute the serious purpose of school life.

If Dr. Bonbright was dubious about coeducation in 1901 after a quarter-century of successful trial at Northwestern University, what must have been his views back in 1869–74. One may presume that neither Wheeler nor Bonbright was especially sympathetic toward coeducation or that they could have been very friendly toward a young woman who defied the faculty to make rules for her own department. If Frances Willard had meekly bowed to their superior knowledge, these men might have tolerated her, but her independence in daring to present her own views made her quite unacceptable.

Confronted by such an irresistible spirit of domination, there was nothing else for her to do but resign. The *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (1929) said: "Frances Willard chafed under the restraints of a conservative Board of Trustees." Less than one year had been sufficient to show her the hopelessness of such a situation; and, as she expressed it: "The world is wide and full of elbow room; this atmosphere is stifling—I must leave it." She made her decision to leave the university after the April faculty meeting when the men adopted twenty-one rules for her to enforce; and she announced her decision to resign at the last regular faculty meeting of the year, June 18, 1874.

Dean Willard went to this last faculty meeting miserable and unhappy. The year had been one of tragic disillusionment. Her dreams and plans had faded one by one under the harsh discipline of Fowler. She had watched every brick go into the Woman's College building, she had supervised the planting of most of the trees and shrubs surrounding it, she had helped to secure the money to fi-

nance it—she was a part of it! But on this June day she took the step which severed her from the work of three of the hardest and happiest years of her life. There was no alternative. She had been stripped of her powers, had been subjected to investigation, belittled in the eyes of her students, and forced to exercise her office upon the order of the faculty.

Kate Jackson was her only companion on this difficult day.[7] Kate had taught the French classes both in the Ladies College and in the Woman's College, but she also resigned at this time. Loyal to the last, Kate was apparently the only friend there to give her courage and moral support. Frances began her report by saying that those who had demanded "equality" should find no dissatisfaction with the present policy, as the young women who boarded outside the Woman's College were subjected to no "special requirement." Nevertheless, there were many patrons, she explained, who wanted to feel that their daughters were given the same protection at school as at home because they were still skeptical of "mixed" schools. The rules for the Woman's College passed by the faculty had proved clumsy to enforce and had raised many problems. She asked, therefore, that the university state to the public just the kind of care and supervision the women students did receive. "All this I can say to you, gentlemen, with the more directness, because of its being my last utterance in my present relations to you."

Minutes of this faculty meeting (June 18, 26, 1874) merely record that the dean of the Woman's College made her report concerning the rules for the college building, which was concluded by an announcement of her resignation. The report was accepted and laid upon the table. It is conspicuous that the faculty made no motion of regret that she was leaving or took any formal action in appreciation of her services. Might one conclude from this that the majority of the faculty members were glad Frances Willard had resigned?

Her formal resignation had been sent to the Board of Trustees on June 13, 1874, and came up for review and discussion in that body some ten days later. Her letter said:

> It has slowly but surely become evident that I can never carry into execution my deepest convictions concerning the interests of the Woman's College under the existing policy of government.
>
> I therefore resign the office of Dean of the Woman's College and Pro-

fessor of Aesthetics in the University to which you elected me one year ago. There are other reasons for this action which justice to myself would require me to name in the hearing of the Trustees, but I refrain from doing this out of regard to the interests which must take precedence of any personal consideration.

The story of this moving drama was clearly and ardently set forth by her brother in his newspaper, the *Chicago Post* (June 23, 1874). He reviewed the history of the Ladies College, pointing out that it was built by women and was under their management and control. But shortly after Dr. Fowler took office, the *Post* continued, trouble arose. There were some girls in the Ladies College who noticed they had not the freedom that the girls in the university had. This gave rise to grumbling and dissatisfaction. The impossibility of maintaining discipline in the Ladies College when the girls in the university were permitted to do as they pleased was explained to President Fowler. But he refused to do anything about it. At last, the paper stated, a union of the two institutions was decided upon as a solution of the trouble. There was a clear understanding, however, both written and verbal, that the Ladies College would include all the women in the university and that the system of government then in force in the Ladies College would continue to apply to all the women after the merger. But this promise was not fulfilled.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees on June 24, a full report was made by the special committee appointed to consider her resignation. This was the day when vicious animosities burst their bounds, when angry recriminations passed back and forth, and when the dignified trustees lost their dignity in the melodrama of dissension and bitter debate. Mrs. A. H. Hoge of the Woman's Advisory Committee opened the session by reading a resolution that, in the opinion of the committee, the rules of the Woman's College were insufficient to secure "its satisfactory management, no matter in whose hands they may be placed."[8] This had been passed unanimously by them. She also read some of the rules which the faculty had passed for the Woman's College and severely criticized them.

The committee on the Willard resignation then reported, and the meeting was thrown open for discussion. This account was especially interesting in that it recognized that Miss Willard had expected

full sovereignty over the woman's department and that this power had been denied to her. Mrs. Mary Willard, Frances' sister-in-law, immediately offered an amendment to vest authority for regulation jointly between the faculty of the university and the Woman's College. At once a motion was made by Judge Goodrich to refer this amendment to the faculty for their consideration.[9]

Mr. Queal, who also was a member of the resignation committee, rose to explain the views of the committee. They felt that the faculty of the university was the proper body to regulate rules governing the Woman's College. It was an unwise precedent, he said, to attempt to instruct the faculty upon their course. The committee, he continued, thought that the faculty had in no way failed in its duty and that the troubles which had arisen were due to misunderstanding. Mrs. Hoge again interjected that women were more competent to fix the social rules of the Woman's College than the wisest faculty of men in the country!

After considerable argument between the opposing forces and after charges and countercharges had been made, Miss Willard was given the privilege of addressing the board. She said she did not desire to controvert any statement made by members of the faculty, but, finding that they could not agree with her opinions, she felt it necessary to resign. Mrs. A. J. Brown, reported the *Chicago Tribune* (June 25, 1874), again tried to arouse sentiment for Frances Willard by stating that the women of the community considered it necessary for the dean of the Woman's College to have more authority than had been the case. But her voice was lost in the angry whirl of contradictions and accusations.

The sharp debate came to a dramatic close. Fowler suddenly made the charge that, anyway, Dean Willard had not carried out efficiently the rules passed by the faculty. Frances, taut and nervous from the ordeal, burst into tears and rushed from the room. The board then hurriedly accepted the report of the resignation committee. The curtain had fallen! Frances Willard was no longer dean of the Woman's College of Northwestern University.

As she fled from the pompousness of these good men, she found her brother waiting for her at the college gate. He took her home, where she sought refuge in the quietness of her own room. Here she sobbed out her grief and humiliation. As evening came on she heard the sound of music and of gay and happy laughter from the

president's levee. Her grief was in no way assuaged by the merriment which thus floated to her on the breeze of that June night. The future loomed bleak and dismal. She had no plans. She had no savings. Only the wrenching pain of disappointment and mortification consumed her as she writhed on her bed hour after hour. This crucifying experience, however, closed her career in the field of education. She had poured her enthusiasm, her interest, and her imagination into the Ladies College. It is small wonder, therefore, that she had no spirit to continue in the teaching profession. A few days later Frances left for the East. It was the beginning of a new life.

Whether or not Frances Willard's method was best, she was entirely right from the legal side of the issue. The Ladies College had been founded upon certain precepts which had been approved by Dr. Haven, then president of Northwestern University. These had been emphasized in the catalogues and advertisements. President Haven had reiterated these same conditions in his reports before the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University, which accepted them by formal resolution (June, 1872).[10] Finally, at the time of the merger, Fowler accepted, both in verbal and in written agreement, these same principles. Consequently, his action in the winter of 1873–74 was in direct violation of the tradition, ideals, and agreements of the Woman's College. It should also be remembered that this action was over the protest of the Woman's Board of the Ladies College. In an early manuscript history of the Ladies College ("Northwestern University Album") the following comment was made. "After the coming of Dr. Fowler it was difficult, indeed, impracticable to carry out these provisions and because of this difficulty, primarily, and also because of the financial embarrassments referred to, and in the hope that identity of interest might lead to harmonious action, the Woman's College was united more closely to the university becoming an integral part of the latter institution."

Frances Willard wanted an affiliated type of college, which at that time was almost unknown in this country. Radcliffe College, established in 1879 as an affiliated school with Harvard, was the first of the kind. Although Radcliffe College was of a higher rank than the Ladies College, it was this type of school apparently that Frances Willard was striving toward. The same grade of scholar-

ship is expected of the affiliate as of the parent-institution, and usually the degree is awarded by the university, as is the case of Columbia University and Barnard College. The affiliate college, however, did not flourish in the West.

Frances Willard gave promise as an educator. She possessed a vigorous imagination, charming personality, original ideas, and was eager to succeed. She lacked, however, the scholarship which comes from systematic schooling and long years of mental discipline. Nevertheless, she might have made a real contribution to education had she remained longer in the profession. She left the field at thirty-five just when her faculties were becoming attuned to the problems of education. She made no notable contribution to college education, nothing certainly comparable to Mary Lyon, Emma Willard, or Catharine Beecher. On the other hand, experience as president of the Evanston College for Ladies and as dean of the Woman's College of Northwestern University brought out her latent qualities of leadership.

CHAPTER IX

An Advocate for Women

THE zeal of Frances Willard in the woman's movement was rooted in her childhood environment. From her earliest girlhood she had "revolted against the purely artificial limitations which prevented woman's participation in all the professions." The tyranny of her father early brought the issue before her: there were the ugly clothes she had to wear because he had selected them; there was the harsh discipline he maintained in the home which made her restless. But even more important were his views on woman's education, which he limited to music, sewing, and housekeeping, as these were the arts which he believed made for domestic happiness. On the other hand, her brother Oliver could go to college, vote, make speeches, and study for the ministry, a noble profession.

In her late teens Frances chanced upon a book of essays which left an indelible imprint upon her young mind. It was *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill, containing his great essay, "The Subjection of Women." On the flyleaf of this book, which has been preserved in her library, she wrote, "Founder of that Noblest Order, The Chivalry of Justice"; and on the margin of the chapter on women's rights she wrote, "Read by me at eighteen and never forgotten."[1]

She was also profoundly influenced in her late teens by Margaret Fuller Ossoli (1810–50) whose fame was still at its zenith. Miss Fuller had made history for women both in America and in Europe. Her writings captured the imagination of the prairie schoolgirl. A few years later Frances was inspired by the famous Anna Dickinson (1842–1911), who in the sixties was the celebrated girl-orator of New York and Washington. In 1860 Miss Dickinson had spoken effectively on "Woman's Work," but with the outbreak of the Civil War she devoted herself to lectures on politics. Thousands came to hear her speak at Cooper Union. So great was her renown that she was invited to address Congress. In a special evening session

she spoke in the Hall of Representatives, before a distinguished gathering which included President and Mrs. Lincoln, as stated by the *New York Tribune* (January 18, 1864). Reading the newspapers about this red-haired girl, who thrilled thousands by her flaming speeches, Frances dreamed of likewise holding crowds spellbound with her own magic words.

As a teacher she was always restless, fully conscious of her mediocrity and lowly position. While at Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in 1866 she was especially introspective and complained because she did not fill a "larger place" in the scheme of life. She confessed to deep-lying ambitions for fame and for the love and adulation of her fellow-beings. Yet this burning desire for achievement was hedged about by the current convention limiting woman's place.

Not until she went to Europe in 1868, however, did Frances take a positive stand on the woman question. While in Paris, early in 1869, she wrote about her views quite fully in her diary and the part she would like to take in the new movement. She felt that the opposition to women was the result of unenlightened public opinion and that after she had made a lengthy study of the problem both in foreign lands and at home she would like to talk in public on the matter. "I have dimly felt it to be my vocation but a constitutional dread of criticism and too strong love of approbation have held me back," she wrote. With maturity came courage.

While in Europe she reached the decision not to resume her teaching on returning to America but to concentrate all her time on the progress of women. Thus she made no effort to seek a position on her homecoming but began to speak to the missionary and church societies in and around Chicago. She spoke of her travels abroad and quietly wove into her theme the coming position of womanity.

With the chance to head the Evanston College for Ladies, Frances glimpsed a larger opportunity to serve the cause to which she had dedicated herself. As president of the Evanston College for Ladies she had to raise money for "female education" from an uninterested and even hostile public. In the spring of 1871 she made two notable addresses on the theme of woman's education. On the night of March 21 she spoke at the well-known Centenary Methodist Church in Chicago on "The New Chivalry." She began by saying that a humble duty lay upon her heart because she came to them as a friend to all girls. She quoted the well-known saying of Gail

Hamilton (1833–96)—"I love women, I adore them." Inviting their patience, she reviewed the arguments from "real life" which had influenced her to support the woman question. She then pictured the degraded position of women as she had observed it in Germany, Italy, Turkey, and Egypt. In Damascus she had sadly watched a slave market, she told them, where several Negro women and a pretty Circassian girl were awaiting sale.

Her address on "The New Chivalry" publicly committed Frances Willard to the woman's movement. Although she had heretofore been reticent about stating her views, this public declaration indelibly stamped her as an advocate of women. Her platform debut was arranged by a kindly gentleman, Albro E. Bishop, who was a member of the Centenary Church. He had heard her talk on her travels before a missionary group and was so impressed that he suggested a public lecture. To speak on the woman question before the fashionable audience that gathered at this church took courage, especially in view of the fact that the pastor was Charles Fowler, who was very definitely opposed to women in public life, especially her. Moreover, the tradition of this church had opposed the new freedom for women. Dr. Robert M. Hatfield, Fowler's predecessor, was one of the strongest opponents of the woman's movement in the Methodist church. His antagonism to women was so bitter that he wrote a series of articles for the *New York Independent* venting his wrath against women who were not content to be quiet housewives. Even the editors of the *Independent* were amused over the irony of the situation and accordingly commented: "We learn . . . . that Miss Willard recently lectured in the very Church in which for three years past our eloquent friend Dr. Hatfield has been hammering away against the indecorousness of ladies lecturing."[2]

In spite of the unsympathetic atmosphere, Frances faced a large audience at the Centenary Church, according to the newspaper accounts. But it was an audience that enthusiastically applauded the radicalism of the speaker. The *Chicago Journal* (March 22, 1871) observed that Miss Willard had the good sense and good taste not to lose the woman in the lecturer. The *Chicago Post* (March 22, 1871) reported that "the New Chivalry was an effort of which any woman might well be proud and in its delivery the fair speaker displayed a grace and ability rarely equaled by the exponents of the right of her sex." The paper of which her brother was editor commented that

the lecture "elicited the warmest praise as an elaborate and beautiful appeal for the education and elevation of women."[3]

About two weeks later, Frances spoke again on women, this time at the Congregational Church in Evanston. The subject was "People Out of Whom More Might Have Been Made." It was a plea for the education of women and especially for public support of the projected Evanston College for Ladies. She quoted a line from her beloved Margaret Fuller: "Our only object in this world is to grow." It is not the duty of women "to retire from school at eighteen" but rather to secure the best and fullest education possible, said the young speaker. The excuse for all abuses in all ages had been "it is our custom," which was considered sufficient reason for any abuse, from the exclusion of women from schools in this country to yoking her with oxen in Abyssinia. The experiment in woman's education, she pointed out, had already been successful in more than fifty colleges in this country, while, in Europe, Cambridge and the Collège de France had opened their doors to women. Using a catch phrase which amused her audience, she said that a taste for Homer should go hand in hand with a taste for home; and that croquet and calculus might well be bracketed together. She concluded by saying that, wherever Christian education and refinement led, the women of America should not hesitate to follow: "Womanliness first, whatever else may follow afterward."

Eight hundred people had crowded into the small auditorium of the Congregational Church to hear her plead for the Ladies College. The following morning the *Chicago Tribune* (April 11, 1871) commented that Miss Willard "had achieved quite a reputation as a sensible lecturer on the subject of female education." The address was significant for a number of reasons, but chiefly for two ideas which were fundamental in her subsequent work. One was that the only object in life was to "grow!" Growth, development, expansion—these were her guideposts.

The second idea was "womanliness first." In a day when suffrage leaders attempted to behave like men, to the irritation of the majority of men and women everywhere, it was most significant that Frances Willard set forth "womanliness" above all else. Probably no other characteristic was so frequently commented upon by the press as her lady-like dignity. She was a clear contrast to the militant Elizabeth Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who faced heckling

audiences with complacent assurance even when pelted with eggs and tomatoes. People did not throw things at Frances Willard. There are some women against whom even the rudest ruffians dare not raise a hand. Her dignity, poise, charm, and womanliness won her thousands of friends even among people unsympathetic with her views. When it was suggested to a dear old lady who long was her neighbor that Frances Willard must have been aggressive, she said with stern dignity, "Frances Willard was always a lady."[4]

As president of the Evanston College for Ladies, Miss Willard had exceptional opportunities to experiment with her ideas for the new woman. She tried to inspire these college girls with a desire for a definite accomplishment in the world. Her constant question to each was, "What are you going to do with your life?"[5] Frances Willard, like Gail Hamilton and Margaret Fuller, pointed out the tragedy of girls brought up with the idea merely "to get married." She decried the inertia of girls who passively wait for the one and only man in the world to come along. "The world's theory," she said, "furnishes every young lady that draws breath with a lover loyal and true." But stern reality frequently draws a different picture. She endeavored to make these schoolgirls comprehend that a goal in life besides marriage had its own compensation in happiness for useful living, in the adventurous thrill of developing one's own best talents, even, when necessary, as a weapon against poverty. For the girl who married to escape the problem of living she had only scorn.

So recent was higher education for women that few had looked ahead to see that such advantages also incurred certain responsibilities. Frances, however, clearly saw this equation and welcomed the opportunity to impress her young students with the correlative obligation of service. One of her most outstanding assets as a teacher was her ability to awaken the ambitions of her students. But, interested as she was in woman's progress, she held aloof from the suffrage campaign because it had become so smeared with disrepute. It was common comment in the press that Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony had done more than anyone else to retard the progress of woman suffrage.[6]

The suffrage movement, born at Seneca Falls, New York on July 20, 1848, had failed. The movement had begun with a meeting called by a few women in protest against discrimination in their

participation in the antislavery and prohibition struggles.[7] Under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the women adopted a "Declaration of Sentiments" setting forth their grievances in a form patterned after the Declaration of Independence. This instrument, which the women expected would awaken interest and enthusiasm throughout the land, met with ribald laughter in the press, in the pulpit, and on the street. Their declaration could have met no more pernicious fate. The movement was stillborn.

Mrs. Stanton believed in assaulting public opinion with an array of arguments, as the ancient Romans assaulted a fortress with their battering-ram. She lacked the imagination to resort to finesse and suavity in molding public sentiment. She shouted and she ranted. The *Cleveland Daily Herald* (November 23, 1870) boldly stated: "As for those women who storm and scold on the platform and through the press, who treat man as their natural enemy, from whom every concession is to be clawed with their nails and who is to be driven to flight by the fury of their tongues, we can only look upon them with pity." For the most part the wives and mothers of the dominant class in the country were contented in their homes. They were oblivious to any industrial revolution or to the restrictions imposed on them by feudal law.

The antics of the feminists only raised a wall of ostracism against themselves. Gerrit Smith, cousin of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, said as early as 1855 that the woman's-rights movement was not in the proper hands; and the proper hands were not yet to be found. Fifteen years later the press echoed the same thought:

> We sincerely trust that the estimable ladies who compose the woman's suffrage association will not take umbrage at our declaration that their "movement" is becoming a first-class nuisance. It believes them to be actuated by the purest motives. But it does not believe their wisdom to be equal to their good intentions; it cannot acknowledge that their exertions are always made in the right direction or that the cause they labor so faithfully to help will ever triumph until it is advocated more judiciously, more systematically and with less peculiarly spiteful asperity which would seem to be the special heritage of "strong-minded" women.[8]

The Seneca Falls convention failed to offer a broad, constructive program. The economic and political needs of the times were overlooked in the effort to recapitulate the "Rights of Man." This convention was not the birth of a great social movement.

When a suffrage organization was finally launched in Evanston, Frances felt a spontaneous interest in it; but her mother said: "You are the president of a college and you cannot afford to have your name associated with any such thing as the suffrage movement. So you must not belong—but I will go and find out what they say and tell you all about it." The opprobrium of the suffrage movement in the sixties alienated many others who, like Frances Willard, were deeply interested in the progress of women. Many felt that Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Victoria Woodhull, and George Train were irresponsible leaders, whose rash statements and gaudy acts had tainted the entire movement. Mrs. Stanton defied the Victorian public by advocating divorce, and Mrs. Woodhull shocked the nation by her reputed advocacy of free love. Henry Blackwell later declared in the *Woman's Journal* (March 11, 1899) that the divorce question was one of the chief disturbing factors between the American Suffrage Association and the National Suffrage Association, as most of the suffragists did not believe in "free divorce."

The scandal, opprobrium, and disgust that attached to the name of the National Suffrage Association was largely due to the efforts of Victoria Woodhull and George Train, while much bad odor also clung to the American Suffrage Association because of the reported liaison between Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. Theodore Tilton. Thus the suffrage organizations had been so contaminated that many women who had been sympathetic to the cause were alienated, and the great mass of women were more resolved than ever to have nothing to do with "such women."

Because of the public antipathy toward the suffrage leaders, Sorosis took the initiative for a woman's society which should represent the best in their advancement. Sorosis had been organized in 1868 as a professional woman's club, mostly of writers and journalists. They commanded the respect and approbation of men and women the country over. This society felt somewhat alarmed over the disgraceful reputation of the woman-suffrage organizations, since it cast an ugly reflection upon all women's associations. Therefore, the president of Sorosis, Mrs. Charlotte Wilbour, sent out invitations in May, 1873, to about a hundred representative women to join in a "Call" for a woman's congress to meet that autumn in New York City. The response to this was so encouraging that

the "Call," which appeared in the *Woman's Journal* (October 11, 1873) and newspapers throughout the land, was signed by a large number of leading women in all fields of activity. Among the many distinguished names that signed the Call was that of Frances Willard, who, however, was listed as "President of Woman's College of University of Illinois, Evanston." Although this was a slightly incorrect label, it revealed something of the prestige which attached to her name as an educator.

On October 15, 1873, there convened some four hundred representative women at the Union League Club in New York City as a protest to the Anthony-Stanton clique and as the first step in forming a new society. The *New York Herald* (October 16, 1873) made the following comment:

> The woman's movement has taken a new and surprising departure. The public may not be thoroughly conversant with the fact that for some time past the more violent woman's rights people headed by Victoria Woodhull, Susan B. Anthony, and others of the same stripe, have been diverging so widely from the accepted conventionalities of society as to compel a certain number of lady agitators who have membership in the Sorosis Club of the city to organize a new movement of women which was to be erected and maneuvered by the leaders of Sorosis, to the utter destruction of the free love party.

The women named the new society "The Association for the Advancement of Women," and their annual meetings they designated the "Woman's Congress." The constitution of the new association declared the object to be "to present practical methods for the securing to woman higher intellectual, moral, and physical conditions, and thereby to improve all domestic and social relations." They chose the term "Woman's Congress" to keep it as distinct as possible from the other women's conventions and to "free it from the reproach which had hitherto attached to the more violent shrieks for the privilege of the ballot."

Frances Willard enthusiastically supported this Association for the Advancement of Women. She not only signed the Call for the first meeting, but she attended the congress, was on the program, and accepted office. Mary Livermore, well known for her work in the Sanitary Commission, was elected president of the association, and Frances Willard was elected a vice-president. This was the beginning of a long and warm friendship between an older woman who

had already won renown and a daring young woman who was destined to go far. Mrs. Livermore was also an ardent suffrage worker, and after the Beecher-Tilton scandal she became president of the American Suffrage Association. She later brought Frances into this organization and made her an associate editor of their publication, the *Woman's Journal*.

This conclave provided her first introduction to some of America's leading women. Here she met Marie Mitchell, professor of astronomy at Vassar College; Julia Ward Howe, prominent writer and leader of the New England literary clique; Caroline A. Soule, editor of the *Guiding Star* of New York City; Dr. Mary Safford Blake, prominent physician of Boston; Catharine Beecher, well-known educator; Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi; Mrs. Ralph Waldo Emerson; Sarah Grimke; Mrs. Dio Lewis; and Elizabeth Phelps. The position of Frances Willard at the university, her charm, wit, and poise—all helped to win her the recognition of these outstanding women. Several months later Frances was elected to the coveted membership in Sorosis, as has already been described. Thus from this Woman's Congress Miss Willard made the acquaintance of Mary Livermore, who brought her into the American Suffrage Association, and Caroline Soule, who brought her into Sorosis. So she had become trebly linked with the woman's movement some months before she left the university. But she escaped the opprobrium which had fastened itself to most of the suffrage leaders, coming as she did after their scandals and being identified with the irreproachable Association for the Advancement of Women and Sorosis.

The press gave hearty indorsement to the new society. The *New York Herald* (October 16, 1873) commented that there could be no doubt whatever that the association was by all means the most select, the most cultured, and the best-ordered convention of women ever held in the city. When the congress convened in Chicago the following year, the *Tribune* (October 18, 1874) reported: "These women of the Congress seem to be working more rationally for their sex and infinitely more successfully than the suffragists, who know only one thought—the ballot box." At this congress Frances Willard lacked the glittering prestige of the university, for she had resigned her position there the preceding June. Some of the members were not so cordial in their reception of her as before, and only

by the loyal support of Mary Livermore, the president, was her place on the program retained. Nevertheless, she was elected one of the two secretaries of the organization. In 1875 the congress was held at Syracuse, New York. This was almost the last congress Frances Willard took an active part in, although she occasionally thereafter was on their program. After this date she was so deep in the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union that all her time and interests were devoted to it. She spoke at the Syracuse congress and was elected at that time a director of the association, according to the *Syracuse Daily Journal* (October 15, 1875).

The congress at Syracuse won the same high praise from the local press as it had at New York and Chicago in the two preceding years. Its very conservatism recommended it after the escapades of the Stanton-Anthony-Woodhull-Train group. And, of course, the quality of the women represented was unmatched in any other conference of women of the times. The *Syracuse Daily Journal* (October 14, 1875) said:

> Heretofore many of the great assemblages of women in this country have had three distinct characteristics: acidity, vituperation and "give-me-that-ballot or die!" But it is not so in this Woman's Congress; the real spirit of the gathering, as seen not alone in the words of the few in attendance, is expressed in the words: "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even unto them." No not force, but love is the motive power of these wives and mothers.

The audience was said to be the largest ever assembled in the Opera House. The *New York Tribune* (October 15, 1875) reported that hundreds were unable to gain admission. The congress completely captured the town of Syracuse, with old and young alike attending the open sessions. Frances Willard was now secretary of the congress and thus very much in the center of things. Young and attractive, she captivated the college girls who came to the meetings. One group, the Alpha Phi sorority, claimed her at once and initiated her into their society, on the basis that Miss Willard was an alumna of Syracuse University. This was in part true as she had received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Genesee College on the eve of its fusion (1871) with the university, which absorbed the former's alumni list. The girls were so enthusiastic over her that they extracted a promise that she would return in June (1876) for an address during commencement week.[9]

The Association for the Advancement of Women with its annual Woman's Congress became a medium for the exchange of ideas of women from all fields of activity. It was a conservative organization of women holding a place of prestige and worth in the eyes of the public. As the *Chicago Tribune* (October 18, 1874) expressed it, "they had learned to attack follies gently." It made no effort to convert people to its particular views or to secure a large membership but was, rather, a conference of distinguished women in various professions to discuss current problems of particular interest to them. The association was similar to Sorosis but broader in membership, including all spheres of woman's endeavor and aiming at a national society which should meet annually in different cities. Sorosis met twice monthly in New York City.

Meanwhile, the resignation of Frances Willard from Northwestern University in June, 1874, synchronized with a widespread uprising of women which almost reached the proportions of a social revolution. The movement began in the winter and spring of 1874 and stirred Frances deeply, although she was not a participant. During these months she was engaged in bitter controversy with the Northwestern University over her own woman question! By the time this dispute was settled, the dramatic revolt of the women was subsiding. The "Crusade," as the uprisings were called, marked the beginning of the new woman's movement—the western movement which Frances eventually was to command.

The Civil War had unleashed the energies of American women as nothing else had done up to that time. Several hundred women of the North responded to the nation's call for work in the Sanitary Commission. They raised fifteen million dollars, in addition to a wealth of donated supplies. The exigencies of wartime scrapped many of the "conventions" and some of the traditional views concerning woman's place. The energy and initiative released during these four years of crisis could not again be bottled up. The war had produced an aliveness and a quickening that was perceptible during the remainder of the century. The ground swell of education was also beginning to be felt by the early seventies. The normal schools of Horace Mann and the coeducation of the state universities were training the new woman. And back of it all was relentless economic necessity, forcing thousands of women into professions and business.[10]

After the Civil War there was a tremendous increase in the production of liquor due in part to the influx of immigrants and in part to the government tax, which gave to the business a certain legal sanctity heretofore absent. America had early developed a Puritan conscience, so that from the days of the colonists people looked askance at any overindulgence in liquors. The combination of all these forces produced the Woman's Revolution of 1874. Its manifestation was the spontaneous grouping of women in numerous communities into praying bands. Daily these bands of women marched to some saloon, where they knelt either inside or on the sidewalk and prayed that the owner would find some other kind of business and that right speedily. Sometimes Bible reading and singing were added to their prayer service. The movement broke out almost simultaneously in three western towns: Hillsboro, Washington Court House, and Fredonia. The first two towns were in Ohio and the latter in western New York. The phenomenal demonstration lasted about six months and spread from New York to California, although it was predominant in the Middle West. The movement was too widespread and vigorous to call anyone the instigator of it. As Frances Willard declared, the praying bands of women were without leadership or direction. The women just rose up as one person in Puritan wrath. The simplicity and fervor of the women were comparable somewhat to the rise of passive resistance in India, although, of course, this had leadership. But the spontaneity and pious faith of the two movements are similar.

On the morning of December 24, 1873, a group of women gathered in one of the churches at Hillsboro, Ohio, and organized themselves into a "band." They elected Mrs. J. T. Thompson as their leader. She was a woman about sixty, long active in the churchwork of her community and daughter of Allen Trimble, a former governor of Ohio. The one hundred women present then formed a column of twos and marched out of the church to John's Saloon, singing, "Give the Wind Thy Fears." The next day being Christmas, the women remained at home, but on succeeding days for the next few months the women of Hillsboro continued their visitations to the saloons of the village. Within a few days the Crusade appeared at Springfield, Ohio, and from there spread over the state with the rapidity of a prairie fire. Within two months the Crusade had reached New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and

several states in the Middle West. By March the leading eastern newspapers began giving accounts of the progress of the Crusade—it had become news. Mass meetings were held in churches; and in New York one of the largest "variety" theaters was turned over to the women by the owner for a meeting.[11]

At first everyone had laughed at these pious women who gathered on street corners or in saloons to pray; but, as the Crusade spread from town to town and from state to state, as thousands of women enlisted in it, and as saloon after saloon was driven out of business, people ceased to laugh—even the saloonkeepers ceased to laugh. As early as February the *New York Tribune* established a special column for temperance news. By March the paper made the following interesting comment:

> The day when the liquor dealers laughed at the women's movement has passed. Whatever the secret of its success, and however ridiculous it first appeared, it now seems very formidable to all who depend for income upon the manufacture or sale of whiskey and beer. Hundreds of liquor stores have been temporarily and permanently closed.
>
> . . . . It cannot be without political effect. It is not uncommon to hear the remark that "this thing will break up the Republican party if it goes on much longer." In the Municipal elections this spring, a temperance question will be the main issue in nearly every town where the women's movement has been tried or talked about.

Regardless of the political implication which Greeley here hinted at and which Rhodes subscribed to, the real significance of the movement was its social purport.[12]

The woman's revolution was foreshadowed as early as 1869, as revealed in a letter from an Ohioan to the *New York Tribune*. He said that the war of women against whiskey had already commenced out in Perrysville, Ohio. There he related the story of how the women had opposed a man's opening a rumshop in the community. When he refused to sell out to them, the women proceeded to smash up all his supplies of liquor. The letter concluded with this prophecy: "The people in this part of Ohio honestly think that the next war in this country will be between women and whiskey; and though there may not be much blood shed, you may rest assured rum will flow freely in the gutter. As the women here have taken the matter in hand once before, we claim to have fought the Bunker Hill of the new Revolution.[13]

Mark Twain, who was very much impressed by the demonstration, wrote an article for the *London Standard* on the Crusade in which, with a fine blend of humor and seriousness, he depicted the movement. He said that, as the Crusaders were composed of the very best women of the communities, the telegraph companies kept the newspapers supplied with the "progress of the war," and thus the "praying infection" spread from town to town, day after day and week after week. The conduct of these crusaders he considered entirely justifiable, for they are "voiceless in the making of laws" and in the election of officers, yet they are born with brains, well educated, and often possess large financial interests.

The "Woman's War," as it was frequently called in the press of the day, raged for about six months, after which it gradually subsided. The Crusade was credited with closing three thousand saloons, although a large number of them reopened after the emotional whirlwind had spent itself. Congress, however, became more receptive to bills asking for an official investigation of the liquor traffic,[14] and the entire country was made temperance-minded as never before in our history. In the eleven internal revenue districts of the two adjoining states of Ohio and Indiana, the *Nation* (March 19, 1874) estimated that the movement had caused a falling-off in receipts for January and February of over $350,000.

One of the surprising things about this uprising was that it met general approval from the public. The women, of course, trespassed against the law and against property rights, but public sympathy was so strong for them that officials dared not punish them. In a few instances the women were arrested, but no police chief was strong enough to hold in jail the wife or mother of the mayor or the governor and the wives or mothers of the most prominent citizens of the community because they prayed on the street corner. The *Cincinnati Commercial* (April 9, 1874) stated that the women there received special protection from the mayor, who said that the women had a "perfect right to carry on their religious exercises in the public square and that they should be protected." Quite frequently husbands went along to show their moral support. But, with the churches in thorough support, with the newspapers throughout the country running headlines day after day on the progress of the Crusade, and with the open sympathy of a large sector of the public, the police force of the communities was help-

less. As the *Nation* commented, "The women have triumphed over the law"; and another paper said that to refuse them sympathy "is very difficult if not almost impossible."

The Crusade was not related to suffrage, and the newspapers were quick to emphasize this distinction. In fact, most of the women participating were quite opposed to suffrage, yet, as Henry Blackwell pointed out, it was a "step toward suffrage. It is praying first; it will be voting afterward." He was quick to see the social implications of the Crusade, however, and the columns of the *Woman's Journal* gave spacious comment to them. He saw in it with almost prophetic vision a western woman's movement. While he conceded that the women might do some good, he said that the more important thing was the "beneficent educational influence of the movement upon the women themselves." Women who had been bound to their homes by the traditions of centuries suddenly became public minded and marched onto the streets for a civic cause. "Hundreds of women," he said, "who a month ago would have trembled at the sound of their own voices in a public meeting, are today making eloquent extempore addresses to crowded audiences." This experience, he thought, meant that the women had broken loose forever from the "tyranny of routine" and that the "woman who had braved the saloon and the brothel would never dread pollution at the polls."[15] Some years later Mary Livermore came to the same conclusions, declaring in the *Union Signal* (December 20, 1883):

> I do not think its [Crusade's] value can be estimated by its temperance achievements, though these have not been inconsiderable. But that phenomenal and exceptional uprising of women in southern Ohio, ten years ago, floated them to a higher level of womanhood. It lifted them out of a subject condition where they had suffered immitigable woe. . . . to a plateau where they saw that endurance had ceased to be a virtue!

Such a phenomenon could have happened only in America. The sheer audacity of groups of women praying on the street corner or marching into saloons and kneeling on the dirty floor while the bewildered proprietor stood by to hear himself prayed over is nothing short of breath-taking. That these gentle, sheltered women, who had been shocked at the suffrage movement and who had recoiled at the thought of "woman's rights," participated in such a demonstration was startling. The Crusade was an emotional outburst against old customs, old restrictions, old laws; and, as stated

by the *Boston Evening Transcript* (February 10, 1874), it was occasioned by the "let-down" in the postwar years, together with a renewed interest in prohibition. The Crusade had the approval of the church, which meant a large proportion of public opinion. Thus these women, supported by an organized body, were not ostracized as had been the suffrage leaders. Woman's activities in the Civil War had loosed the bonds of home provincialism; but the social lag after the war led to the Crusade, which was, fundamentally, a revolution against outworn customs and old traditions. It was the Crusade, therefore, that ushered in the new woman's movement.

When in June, 1874, Frances Willard found her career in tumbled ruins through her controversy with the university, she bravely packed her bag and started East to see some of the temperance leaders, especially Dio Lewis and Neal Dow. Up to this time she had never evinced much interest in temperance and had heard only two temperance lectures: once in 1860 when Parker Earle, the Chicago agent of the Illinois Temperance League, spoke in Evanston, and the other three years later when the great John Gough spoke in Pittsburgh.[16] As the Methodist church was strongly prohibitionist, Evanston was one of the driest communities in the country. The charter for the university, moreover, had banned the selling of liquor for a four-mile radius from the campus. Frances, at the age of sixteen, had cut a temperance pledge from a paper and pasted it in the large family Bible and thereupon insisted that every member of the family sign it. A year later, when she went to Milwaukee to school, she boarded at the home of Dr. M. P. Hanson, who, she said, was the Dio Lewis of Milwaukee. Nevertheless, her trip to Europe showed that she had no deep-lying scruples about the matter, as she slid into the Continental way of drinking wines and beer with the greatest ease. It seems logical to assume, therefore, that her interest in temperance in the summer of 1874 did not spring so much from moral conviction as from her interest in the woman's side of the movement. She visited Old Orchard Beach, Maine, and Chautauqua, New York, where a number of the temperance people had gathered.

While on this trip East she received two offers: one was that of "lady-principal" at a fashionable girls' school opposite Central Park in New York City, at a salary of $2,400 a year; and the other

was that of president of a small group of Chicago women who had organized as a result of the Crusade in that city. The latter was not really an offer, but Mrs. Louise S. Rounds of the famous Centenary Church of Chicago, where Frances had made her debut as an advocate of women, wrote her asking if she would consider being their leader. No salary was mentioned. This was hardly a promising opportunity, but she recognized it as an "open door" to the fulfilment of her hopes. Frances at once refused the offer of the school position. The frustration she had suffered at Northwestern University forever dampened her enthusiasm for further work in the teaching profession as a medium to consummate her woman's dream.

It may have been during this adventurous summer of 1874 that Frances met Henry F. Durant (1822–81), founder of Wellesley College, although it is more likely she met him in the summer of 1876. The meeting was at Old Orchard Beach, Maine, and he at once tried to induce her to join his faculty at Wellesley. He told her of the beautiful college he had built for the girls of the nation but said that he needed her on his staff because of her fine love and sympathy for them. When she refused, he entreated her to come to see the campus, anyway. So Frances visited beautiful Wellesley College, but she again refused the flattering offer because "I had turned my face forever from the only educational institution in all the world to which I was devotedly attached, and nothing that I could see anywhere after that could ever give me regret or hope."

On the way home Frances stopped several days at Pittsburgh to visit old friends of her teaching days. As the Crusade still lingered in this city, she sought the leaders of the band and asked to join them in one of their morning marches. This was her only experience in the Woman's War, and she related that never except beside her sister Mary's deathbed had she prayed as truly as she did that morning. She called it her "Crusade Baptism."

Meanwhile, some of the women who had gathered at Chautauqua in the summer of 1874, many of whom had been leaders of the Crusade in their local communities, decided to form a permanent organization. Therefore these women planned a national organizing convention to be held November 18–20, 1874, at Cleveland. The announcement of this convention was made by Dr. John H. Vincent from the general assembly platform at Chautauqua. Vincent was one of the most prominent men in the Methodist church and had

only that summer (1874) established the Sunday School Institute at resplendent Chautauqua Lake. Announced by this eminent churchman, the proposed meeting at once became an event of importance and prestige.

Delegates were elected at state meetings on the basis of one from each congressional district. Many cities had of their own volition organized "Temperance Leagues" in the afterglow of the Crusade, as had Chicago. In September, Frances Willard had been formally elected president of the Chicago organization. Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, chairman of the Chautauqua planning group, called the Illinois state meeting for October 20 at Bloomington. Frances Willard, as president of the Chicago league, went to this state convention. She wrote of this meeting: "My life had hardly known a more exalted moment. I seemed to see the end from the beginning: and when one has done that nothing has power to discourage or to daunt." At this convention she was elected recording secretary for the state society and chosen a delegate to the forthcoming national meeting at Cleveland. Thus did the pattern of the new woman's organization rapidly develop.

On November 18, according to the *Chicago Tribune* (November 21, 1874), two hundred women representing seventeen states convened at Cleveland. The convention adopted as its name "The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union."[17] Although including many Methodists as well as other sects, the women declared themselves to be nonsectarian. A preamble and constitution were adopted, which declared against the evils of intemperance and which also provided the structure of organization. The woman's temperance organizations which had sprung up so rapidly after the Crusade were permitted to affiliate with the national organization by indorsing their constitution and paying annual dues of five cents per member.

Frances Willard, recently elected secretary of the state temperance organization, was now elected corresponding secretary of the national association. This was a most desirable and strategic position, since the whole field of organization work fell under her jurisdiction. Thus she was the link between the national Union and the state Unions. Elected as president was Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, well known for her work in the Sanitary and Christian Commissions during the Civil War. She was also a distinguished member of

the Methodist church, having organized in 1871, with the cooperation of Bishop Matthew Simpson, the Woman's Home Missionary Society. To knit the missionary society together, she had started a paper called the *Christian Woman*. Thus the name of Annie Wittenmyer was well known throughout the North. Her election, therefore, as leader of the new organization won the confidence of countless numbers of women, especially churchwomen. Frances Willard had been nominated for the high office but withdrew her name in deference to the older woman and possibly also because she realized she could not yet be elected.

The treasurer was another church worker, Mrs. Abby Fisher Leavitt. She was the state secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society of Ohio and had been the leader of the "Praying Band" in Cincinnati at the time of the Crusade. Another prominent member of the Cleveland convention was Mary Livermore, president of the recently organized woman's temperance society of Massachusetts. She was one of the most outstanding women in America at the time, receiving as much as $300 a night for a lecture. At this period, also, she was an outstanding leader of the American Woman Suffrage Association and president of the Association for the Advancement of Women. She was known widely for her work in the Sanitary Commission in the war and for her writings in sundry papers. Although a church woman, she was somewhat unorthodox, being active in the Unitarian faith. But the name of Mary Livermore added luster to the new organization.

Another distinguished woman at the Cleveland convention was Emily Huntington Miller, secretary of the organizing group at Chautauqua the preceding summer (1874). She was the only woman then on the executive committee of the board of Northwestern University. Mrs. Miller had won a considerable reputation as a writer of children's stories. Her connection with the Methodists, furthermore, added weight and prestige to her connection with the new organization. She had been active in the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, and her brother-in-law, Lewis Miller, was cofounder with John H. Vincent of Chatauqua.

Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, already mentioned for her work at Chautauqua, was the sister of Charles Fowler, president of Northwestern University. She was known in the Middle West as a writer, lecturer, church worker, and teacher and was on the faculty at

Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington, Illinois. In 1869 she had been elected a corresponding secretary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society and four years later was "licensed" to preach by the Methodist church. Teaching English during the week at the university, she usually held a religious service somewhere on Sunday. It was she who had promoted the plans at Chautauqua for the permanent woman's organization as an aftermath of the Crusade, and it was she who had called the Illinois state convention in October. She had been elected president of the state organization, which office she continued to hold until 1877. Mrs. Willing was another woman of excellent talent and ability on the list of splendid women who had gathered at Cleveland. Still another woman who commanded the respect and admiration of the convention was Zerelda G. Wallace, wife of an Indiana governor and the stepmother of Lew Wallace, famous author of *Ben Hur*.

Thus one might continue almost indefinitely to call the roll of the distinguished women whose names lent weight, prestige, and respectability to this meeting. A point of great significance was that most of the leaders at this convention were identified with a church. Either they themselves were well known in church circles or else some member of their family was—husband, father, or brother. Frances Willard's position in the Evanston schools closely identified her with the Methodists. She was fortunate, also, in having the personal interest and loyal support of such high churchmen as John Vincent (1832–1920), elected a bishop in 1888; E. O. Haven (1820–81), onetime president of Northwestern University and made a bishop in 1880; Matthew Simpson (1811–84), created a bishop in 1852; and Randolph S. Foster (1820–1903), president of Northwestern University when the Willards first came to Evanston and the first kindly friend to help Frances toward success. He was created a bishop in 1872.

The number of outstanding churchwomen in the Union created a magnetic appeal to other women. The praying bands of women had come as a blessed antidote to the radicalism, fanaticism, and unfortunate blunders of the woman-suffrage associations. Most ministers had approved of the Crusade and had gladly opened their churches for the women to hold meetings. This gave the Woman's Christian Temperance Union the moral backing of an organized body of men. When one remembers that the suffrage organizations

were ridiculed by pulpit and press alike, the recognition which ministers gave to the Union can be recognized as vastly important. Thus the approval by the churches both of the Crusade and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union gave each a dignity and respectability which the suffrage associations never achieved during the nineteenth century. From the days of the Pilgrims, America has been a Christian nation, and the people have accordingly been greatly influenced by the approval or disapproval of the church. Hence the church, especially down to the close of the nineteenth century, has been the great arbiter on social issues. A woman's movement, therefore, without the blessing of this stronghold of public opinion was doomed from the beginning. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was fortunate to stand within the charmed circle of holy approbation.

The new association had another distinct advantage. While it received the approbation of the churchmen, its leadership was placed in the hands of women. Both suffrage organizations suffered from the sins of omission and commission of their masculine members. The one was damaged by George Francis Train and Theodore Tilton; and the other was injured by Henry Ward Beecher and T. W. Higginson. A woman's movement needed the force and impact of a body of women. The suffrage associations diluted their strength by the inclusion of men within their ranks just as a labor organization would by the admission of employers. The men could help most by remaining on the side lines and giving the women their moral support as they did to the Union. One man at the very beginning was probably responsible for this policy. The Rev. J. M. Walden of Cincinnati, Ohio, was asked to preside at the Cleveland meeting. He advised that it be exclusively a woman's convention and that no man be admitted as a delegate.

Thus the new woman's movement was born under a luckier star than the suffrage association at Seneca Falls some twenty-five years earlier. With the sanction of the churches came in large measure the approval of the press, which gave the Union two of the most powerful agencies for molding public opinion. "Temperance," of course, had been a respectable movement from Colonial days and one which had enlisted some of the most prominent people in the community from decade to decade. The issue was one, moreover, which appealed to a large part of the public. One must recognize,

however, that the public was more receptive to woman's work generally in 1874 than it had been in 1848. The work of women during the Civil War helped to prepare the way for their increased activities afterward. Those tragic years had educated women to group enterprise, and they had also attuned the public mind to an acceptance of woman's activities. The suffrage women, by virtue of their radicalism, inadvertently aided the more conservative women of the Union. In the face of communism, socialism may seem more acceptable. Thus from the extreme position of the suffrage women the Woman's Christian Temperance Union seemed safe and "respectable."

During the balance of the century the women of the White House aided and encouraged the Union. Mrs. Grant abolished liquor at the New Year's reception. Mrs. Hayes, who followed her as mistress of the White House, abolished liquor altogether, even at dinner parties. One statesman wittily characterized the four dry years of the Hayes administration by saying, "Water flowed like champagne." Mrs. Hayes was a member of the Methodist church of Cincinnati and an ardent worker in the Home Missionary Society. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union felt a kindred bond with her and showed their appreciation of her temperance stand by presenting (1880) the White House with a huge portrait of her. After the Crusade there was a general wave of prohibition sentiment throughout the country, but most especially in the West and the rural sections of the East. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (August 25, 1882) commented editorially: "There is no disputing the fact that the temperance sentiment of the whole country, and particularly the western portion, has very largely increased within the last few years."

From about 1877 to 1897 the women of the White House adhered more or less to the trend of temperance. Mrs. Garfield, Mrs. Cleveland, and Mrs. Harrison all banned wine and liquors from their public entertainments. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, functioning, therefore, within the shadow of the White House, achieved an eminence which contributed in making it the greatest woman's society of the century.

Frances Willard was quick to perceive that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the gateway to her long-held vision for women. Probably no other woman at that convention comprehend-

ed the potentiality of this newborn society as she did. Years later her friends of the *Woman's Journal* (March 5, 1892) correctly commented: "Miss Willard did not come to woman suffrage through temperance, but was a suffragist first, last, and all the time."

The structure of this new woman's organization was very simple. Power was placed in a board of managers composed of the president, the corresponding secretary, the treasurer, and the vice-presidents. The latter were composed of the president of each state Union. The national officers were to be elected yearly at their annual meeting. The national Union, in fact, convened only once a year. Delegates were to be elected by state conventions on the basis of one for each congressional district in the state. Representation in the national organization was thus purely geographic. Each state Union also convened only once a year, and delegates to it were chosen by the local Unions. Any temperance organization could affiliate with the national organization by indorsing the constitution and paying to the national treasury annual dues of five cents per member, and there could be any number of such organizations in a village or city. Thus, imperfect as their system was, it provided for an organization from the local unit to state and national societies. The work was placed under the supervision of national committees, who planned the work of their department and gave instructions to the corresponding committee of the state, who, in turn, passed the instructions down to the local union.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, born out of the Crusade, differed from the suffrage associations as to its beginning. The drama of the Woman's Revolution caught the imagination of the public and secured support of the church and the press. The Union made a wide emotional appeal to the conservative mass of women—the women who had been alienated by the suffrage leaders. Furthermore, the eminent names sponsoring the new society created confidence. The Union also had the advantage of timeliness. It came after the Civil War when there was a noticeable letdown of woman's activities from the war years. The Woman's Revolution, therefore, marked the end of the first phase of the woman's movement and the beginning of the second phase. Frances Willard was the leader of the newborn woman's movement.

CHAPTER X

Conquest of Power

AS CORRESPONDING secretary of the national Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Frances Willard was in a strategic position to mold the Union to her views, although not without a struggle. The Union had been organized with a single objective—prohibition. The weakness of the suffrage associations had been their disassociation from any great social reform. To link suffrage and reform together and thereby quicken and augment each was the spark of genius. But the amalgamation of the two issues was not an easy task. Only by control of the Union could Frances hope to accomplish her ends.

Although she and Annie Wittenmyer, the newly elected president, met for the first time at the Cleveland convention, they arranged to spend the summer of 1875 together to formulate their plans. But as they represented two different generations their views soon clashed. Mrs. Wittenmyer, despite her excellent war record and notable church activities, was not in sympathy with woman suffrage. For nearly a year, however, Frances loyally supported the older woman in her inchoate policy. The points of disagreement were fundamental: suffrage, method of organization, policy of expansion, and diversity of activities.

It was in May, 1876, that Frances determined to declare publicly for suffrage, regardless of the opposition of her colleagues. The first International Temperance Convention of Women had been called to meet in Philadelphia the middle of June. As Frances was on the program, she thought this a most opportune time to make her suffrage debut. Accordingly, she wrote Mrs. Wittenmyer about her idea. But the national president of the Union refused to countenance a suffrage appeal at this convention. In fact, Mary Livermore, who attended the meeting and was president of the Massachusetts state Union, was not permitted to speak because she held such progressive views on women.

Going on to Chautauqua, New York, for the temperance conference there, the last of July, Frances again sought to make her suffrage speech. But after talking to Dr. Vincent she realized that he was not eager for her to do so, although he did not forbid it. Again she postponed her burning desire to declare for the franchise. But at Old Orchard Beach, Maine, where she went in the middle of August for another temperance rally, she bravely proclaimed her woman's-rights doctrine. Her friends here were shocked and hurt by her avowal of this illusory issue, and some pitied her for the blunder she had made.

It was at Old Orchard Beach that a Canadian woman gave her the clue for her new movement. Mrs. Letitia Yeomans, pioneer temperance worker across the border, made an address at this meeting in which she discussed the tariff question of Canada, using the term "home protection." Instantly Frances' imagination seized upon the catch phrase, "home protection," as a slogan for her suffrage-politics-temperance work.[1] What could more neatly tie together reform and the franchise? "Home protection" became the hub of her policy. Every new idea was interpreted in the light of home protection, every fresh endeavor was clothed in the romantic garb of safeguarding the home. The whole world she announced must be made more "homelike."

Here was an emotional appeal for women. Every wife and mother wants to protect her home; it is fundamental. The adoption of "home protection" was magnificent understanding of the feminine mind. As the simple word "pre-emption" had brought crowds to Evanston a few years before to witness the dedication of a woman's college, so "home protection" during the remaining years of the century was to win thousands of recruits for the Union. Her astute analysis of human nature and public opinion created one of many differences between her and older leaders. Mrs. Stanton based her futile arguments on reason, Miss Willard based her appeal on emotion. It was the difference between beating the old Missouri mule to make him go and enticing him along the road with a wisp of hay.

A few weeks after the suffrage speech at Old Orchard Beach, Frances received a wonderfully kind letter of commendation from Susan B. Anthony, whom she had met the preceding year when speaking at Rochester, New York. This letter was dated September 18, 1876, from Tenafly, New Jersey. She wrote: "I rejoice that

at last you have obeyed the 'inner light' as we Quakers say—the 'divine inspiration' I say—and put under your feet all the timid conservative human counsels. . . . . I feel sure you will find great peace and strength in your obedience to your own highest convictions. I know the breaking the spell, the declaring of yourself has brought peace and comfort to you. No matter how many of the weak, timid, short sighted may send you deprecating words. Now you are to go forward. I wish I could see you and make you feel my gladness, not only for your sake, personally, but for the cause sake —for Temperance and virtue's sake—for woman's sake.''

Such a letter must have given Frances comfort and great cheer. So few had praised her, so many had criticized. It came, too, at a most timely moment as she was bound for the convention of the state Union, held September 20, at Dixon, Illinois. She had decided to make a stand for suffrage at this meeting, hoping thereby to commit Illinois to her suffrage policy before the national convention in October. This would give her the support of her home state when she introduced the issue at the national meeting. The innocent wording of her simple resolution she had labored over for hours. Finally, with outward poise but inward qualms, she took the fateful step.

Resolved, That by prayer, persuasion and petition we will seek to influence those strongholds of power, the national Congress, State Legislative and Municipal Council, whence the rum shop derives its guarantees and safeguards.

Resolved, That we will pray and labor for the early dawning of that day when the mothers, and daughters of America shall have a voice in the decision by which the door of the rum-shop is opened or shut beside their homes.

The underlying meaning of this motion, however, did not escape the clever president, Jennie Fowler Willing, who sternly said: ''What will you do with this woman suffrage resolution?'' ''I move we lay it on the table,'' promptly replied the treasurer. The fate of the cherished resolution was in doubt. Then out of the stunned silence a clear voice was heard, ''I move its adoption!''[2] The question was now open for discussion, which gave Frances the opportunity to make the most eloquent speech of her life. Speaking spontaneously yet under the stress of great emotion, as this was the first hurdle of her campaign to swing the Union to suffrage, she asked them, if

the women of the prairies did not speak out, who would? Not the conservative East, not the silent South, or the unorganized West. If she, who had no home of her own, could face an adverse public opinion for the sake of their homes, surely they could do as much, she said. As her soft, musical voice made its impassioned plea for home protection, there was not a dry eye in the room; and when the vote was taken it carried unanimously. The Illinois Union was thenceforth committed to suffrage; and, as she expressed it, "The good ship Illinois swung from her moorings and put out to sea for a long and stormy voyage."

The third suffrage speech in this important year of 1876 was at the annual meeting of the Woman's Congress which met early in October at Philadelphia. She called it "Home Protection—A Temperance Address." The *Woman's Journal* declared it was "a powerful and thrilling address on Temperance and the need of woman suffrage as a means for its promotion." The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (October 6, 1876) said that for "earnestness of argument and impassioned eloquence the address was worthy of John Gough." Her chief point, according to this newspaper, was that the evils of intemperance in this country could be most effectively remedied by "giving a voice to woman through the ballot."

Having "declared herself" at Old Orchard Beach, the convention of the Illinois Union, and the Woman's Congress, Frances felt in good form to present the issue at the national convention of the Union, meeting at Newark, New Jersey, October 25–27. Here for the fourth time in as many months she declared for woman suffrage as a means to protect the home. In her colorful, flowing speech and a voice soft and vibrant she declared: "Reared on the prairies, I seemed predetermined to join the cavalry forces in this great spiritual war, and I must tilt a free lance henceforth on the splendid battlefield of this reform; where the earth shall soon be shaken by the onset of contending hosts; where legions of valiant soldiers are deploying; where to the grand encounter marches today a great army, gentle of mien and mild of utterance, but with hearts for any fate."

As Frances stood before this assembly and bravely made her suffrage plea, an awed silence fell as if some tragic event were taking place. When she had finished speaking, the chairman of the meeting, Mrs. Allen Butler, president of the New York Union, stepped

to the edge of the platform and said: "I wish it clearly understood that the speaker represents herself and not the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for we do not propose to trail our skirts through the mire of politics." Afterward, as Frances and Mrs. Wittenmyer left the hall together, the older woman promptly declared herself, "You might have been a leader, but now you'll only be a scout." Although a handful of close friends and the Illinois delegation stood by her as she made her unpopular avowal for suffrage, most of the women of the Union were in opposition. The very name "suffragist" was anathema to most of these ardent churchwomen. Her declaration at this time, however, had the effect of opening the issue to debate. It was the wedge to cleave the organization in its thoughts and sympathies. The contest for leadership was now fairly made, and the issue was "suffrage." With the field against her, Frances Willard courageously began a step-by-step advance toward her goal. For the next three years the Union was divided into a majority group and a minority group, or a conservative wing and a liberal wing. She was the leader of the minority, the liberal faction.

Above all, Frances Willard was a shrewd strategist. Not for naught had she garnered the experience of those difficult years at Northwestern University. The technique she then learned enabled her to make a thrilling and spectacular victory by the time of the convention of 1879. As president of the Chicago Union she devised the slogan "For God and Home and Native Land." The Illinois Union liked it so well they promptly adopted it. In 1876 the national organization also chose to use it as its official motto. What more effective phrase could have been devised for a body of women deeply religious, anchored to their homes, and breathing the patriotic air of a postwar era? Frances Willard in her rich, musical voice could ring out the line "For God and Home and Native Land" in her addresses to thrill her hearers to exaltation. It was, of course, an emotional appeal in an emotional, romantic age. Further, at the national convention of 1877 an appropriate badge was adopted—a small white ribbon tied into a bowknot. This signified the purity of the home and was another emotional bond to bind the women to the Union.

The work of corresponding secretary was arduous in these beginning years, as it included all organization activity. This involved

considerable lecturing, since the new Unions needed someone to help them get started and the old ones needed encouragement. Frances was naturally gifted as a speaker, and, moreover, she had been trained by one of the leading elocutionists of the day, R. L. Cumnock of Northwestern University. Soon she was in great demand by state and local organizations. No salary attached to this position, but there were nearly always collections which covered expenses. However, from January, 1875, Frances had received a salary of one hundred dollars a month from the Chicago Union, as their president, with the understanding that she was to devote as much time as possible to the work of the national Union.

The importance of her position as corresponding secretary was that it brought her into constant contact with the officers and leading women of all the Unions. This provided the opportunity for her suffrage work and a chance to win adherents to her liberal wing. It was Frances who was ever before the women, it was she who constantly wrote them about their problems, and it was she who sent out the instructions to the newly formed Unions. She was the tie between the local Union and the national Union, between the local women and the national officers. Her influence grew rapidly.

In February, 1877, Frances was temporarily diverted from the hard pathway she had chosen, to work with the noted evangelist, Dwight L. Moody. She had been induced to resign her place as president of the Chicago Union with its stipend of one hundred dollars a month by the glamour of the great Moody name and the prestige of working with a man of international renown. Also, as he drew thousands to his meetings, she thought this arrangement a great opportunity for her own work. She was to have charge of all the women's meetings, and at the same time she was privileged to carry on her work for the Union as time permitted. But a few short weeks convinced her of the futility of her hopes, for he strongly objected to her appearing on the same platform with her good friend, Mary Livermore, who was a Unitarian. She found his views too narrow and his imagination too limited for her to carry on the wide scope of her own endeavors. She resigned her partnership with him in September. As she had cut herself off from her only income when she joined Moody, now in leaving him she was completely adrift financially.

Several weeks later at the national convention, October, 1877,

she resigned her office as the national corresponding secretary because the breach between her and Annie Wittenmyer had widened perceptibly. This relieved her of any constraint in speaking her views because of a sense of loyalty as a member of Mrs. Wittenmyer's official family. Thus from October, 1877, to October, 1878, Frances held no official position with either the local or the national Union. She had relinquished her post as secretary of the state Union shortly after the national elections of 1874.

But Frances Willard had already made a reputation as an able and forceful speaker, and she knew the work better than anyone else because she had worked for local, state, and national organizations. Furthermore, she was young, charming, alert, and teeming with fresh ideas. Hence there was no letup of the demand for her lectures during this free year. She had met Anna Gordon (1853–1931) at one of her Moody meetings in Boston. Anna was so attracted to her that she therewith linked her future with Frances Willard. She became her secretary, agreeing to share the financial hazards of the work. The engagements for speaking were enough to keep them both busy. Anna looked after the growing pile of correspondence, arranged lecture dates, took care of transportation, and organized children's meetings wherever they went. Anna also was a musician. She led the singing and even composed many of the songs they sang.

During the year 1877–78 Frances spoke more boldly than ever for suffrage among the women of the Union. No longer did she feel shackled by any sense of loyalty to the national president. Out of office, she could speak as freely as she chose. Her reputation as an orator grew as rapidly as did her reputation as a suffrage leader. Recognition by Chautauqua placed her among the nation's best. Although only organized in 1874, the Chautauqua Assembly quickly achieved national success, partly because of the power of the Methodist church back of it, partly the prominence of the men associated with it, but mostly because it filled a public need. Frances had spoken here in July, 1876, although not on the suffrage issue as she had desired. But, as another year rolled by, her reputation was such that Chautauqua was begging her to come, even to talk on suffrage. In one of a number of letters at this time from Dr. John H. Vincent, head of Chautauqua, pleading with her to come for an engagement, he said with frank simplicity: "I do not care for wom-

en speakers generally. Indeed as a general rule I care very little about them. You are one of my magnificent exceptions." With such recognition it is understandable that the women of the Union clamored for her speaking dates.

In the spring of 1878 came the shock of the sudden death of her brother Oliver. He was the editor of the *Chicago Post and Mail*, a member of the Village Council of Evanston, and active in local Republican politics. At the time of his death he was helping to publicize a lecture for Frances in Evanston on the night of March 14 at the Methodist Church. With a brother's anxiety he feared a small audience because this was her first address at home since she had left the university four years before. Whether his faithful efforts produced the capacity audience or whether her growing national reputation made the home folk curious is a question. But when she entered the church that evening it was crowded to the doors. As her eye wandered over the audience in search of Oliver to give a fleeting acknowledgment of his efforts in getting the people out, she found he was not there. Where was he who had labored so diligently for her success?

After the meeting she learned he had been taken ill in Chicago and had gone to the Palmer House for the night. Hastening into the city, she learned that there was nothing serious, and the doctor even promised her that he would be home in a day or so. With this assurance she left for Michigan to fulfil several engagements there over the week end. Then Monday morning came the telegram announcing his death on Sunday, the seventeenth. She rushed home, grief-stricken over the loss of her childhood comrade and fearful lest her mother be in a state of collapse. But her seventy-three-year-old mother bravely met her on the steps of their cottage and said, "Praise Heaven with me—I've grown gray praying for my son—and now to think your brother Oliver is safe with God!" Oliver, the brilliant one, whom they had so fondly expected to be a bishop in the Methodist church, was now secure forever against temptation. Not yet forty-four years old, he died worn and weary.

Although his own inclinations might have led him into the law or literature, he had dutifully entered the ministry as his father desired. But Oliver drank and smoked. Hence he never felt happy or comfortable in the church, although his ministry was a conscientious one. Then he engaged in some unfortunate real estate ventures,

probably land speculation, which was so rampant in this period. Thus he was forced to seek a more profitable career than preaching to pay his debts.[3] It was also reported that he was troubled with a throat ailment which made speaking impossible for a time. At all events he left his charge in Denver and engaged in the transportation of goods from Omaha to Salt Lake City. Then he went into the insurance business, becoming the Wisconsin state agent for the Globe Mutual Life Insurance Company, and moved to Appleton. While Frances was in Europe he returned to Evanston and continued for awhile in the insurance business, although probably with another company. After the Chicago fire he became editor of the *Chicago Mail*.

The last year of his life was said to have been quite devout. But he had failed to fulfil the brilliant promise of his student days and the high hopes of his family. The pathetic comment of his mother over his death tells the story all too plainly. If let alone to seek his own watermark, he might have attained a higher level.

Oliver left a widow and four children without provision. Frances and her talented sister-in-law attempted to run his newspaper, but neither of them had the experience to compete with metropolitan journalists. The paper fell further and further into debt. Frances tried to borrow money but failed. Finally, after several months, they realized the hopelessness of continuation and sold out to Victor Lawson, prominent newspaperman of Chicago. During these months she and Mary Bannister Willard refused all liquor advertisements, kept the columns "clean," and printed temperance news. Frances also ran a series of articles on "Talks to Girls." This was the last time she was sidetracked from her work with the Union.

At the annual meeting of the Illinois state Union, October, 1878, Frances Willard was elected president to succeed Mrs. M. Waite of Galesburg. Now as commander-in-chief of the Illinois forces she was able to make experiments which later were to form the foundation of her national policy. The office of state president, moreover, placed her again on the national board, this time as vice-president. The real struggle for power was to come at the national convention in November of this year, although there had been clashes all along the way.

In 1875 Mrs. Wittenmyer had established a monthly paper for the organization which she named *Our Union*. In charge of it she placed

Jennie Fowler Willing, then president of the Illinois Union. But the paper soon became so financially involved that Frances was made chairman of the publishing committee. By donating her little savings, securing a few other contributions, and seeking yearly subscriptions she was able to bring order out of chaos. From a letter (November 20, 1876) written her by Mary Livermore, the situation of *Our Union* must have been considered hopeless by all others. She warned:

. . . . You can't save it: it is doomed. It must go under, as everything must, that has not in itself the elements of life. None of them [the state associations] depend on that monthly temperance paper published by the National Union for anything—not for instruction—not for intercommunication nor inspiration. It has always been dull, stupid, and heavily loaded with what I call "pious blarney."

. . . . I don't believe you know the ropes well enough, all of you together unless you have old experienced newspaper women among you, to publish a paper that will not be a financial failure. . . . .

Now, I believe in you, in your honesty and ability. (Although I have just received an anonymous letter warning me, ... and making terrible statements concerning your "two-facedness" toward me particularly). If you must help the paper, you had better work for your success in the lecture field and help it with money, standing aside from its management, and letting others do that. You can't do well many things at the same time. . . . .

This was not a very cheering note to come from a friend, especially one experienced in editorial work. But, despite the gloomy picture, Frances kept the paper. It is more than likely that she had an ulterior motive in the work and sacrifice she made to continue *Our Union*. The columns of the paper were an effective medium for suffrage, which she and her liberal colleagues used. Frances even wrote an autobiographical story, "Margaret's Victory," with a suffrage moral to it. But after the twelfth chapter she withdrew the story from publication because of the bitter opposition to using the paper for suffrage propaganda.

This opposition assumed ominous proportions when the editor of *Our Union*, Miss Winslow, told the publishing committee that she would not continue if any further reference to suffrage was made in the paper. She was supported in this stand by Mrs. Wittenmyer, who stated that if such articles did not cease she would convene the executive committee and, if need be, even a special

session of the national Union. The issue finally was brought before the national convention of 1878. The editor began by saying that there had been a difference of opinion in the publishing committee regarding the policy of the paper and that some of them objected to its use for suffrage for three reasons: (1) a change in policy might be disastrous, (2) there was no popular interest in it, and (3) such an important decision should be made by the national Union. When she had finished, Frances Willard took the floor:

> I am glad this hour has come. Some of us have waited for it patiently and long. . . . . I stand for a principle, even though I stand alone. Dear sisters, we would rather agree with you, if we could conscientiously do so, but the West must act out its convictions, and we must tolerate each other. A Baltimore lady said to me yesterday: "Persimmons are nice when they are ripe, but they pucker the mouth when they are green." This Home Protection Petition is a green persimmon in Maryland, but my friends, it is a ripe one yonder on the prairies, and you surely wouldn't forbid us to gather and partake of it? Be assured, dear friends, it has not been a pleasant duty thus to act or speak as we women of the West have felt called upon to do.

As her strong minority following was largely in the West, it was essential to her plan to keep the columns of *Our Union* open for suffrage information. She had made her plea to the convention on the rights of the minority representing a special section of the country. This was both a logical and shrewd argument, for the East would be slow to reject the wishes of a specified section, as this might be suicidal to the organization. When the issue was finally put to a vote, Frances Willard was sustained, and *Our Union* remained open to suffrage news. In commenting upon this victory she declared, "Henceforth the process of educating our women in favor of the ballot went forward rapidly."

The next point at issue at this acrimonious convention was a suffrage resolution. Frances and her liberals had tested a suffrage resolution at each convention. In 1875 Mrs. Zerelda Wallace, because of her name and age, had secured promise of the opposition not to contest her mild suffrage resolution which was being offered as a trial balloon. In 1876, after Frances Willard had shocked the women by her bold suffrage speech, her subsequent resolution upon the issue was defeated, and in its place was passed a resolution to the effect that in all their work they recognized but one "foundation

principle, total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the State." This resolution was the blunt answer of the convention to her plea for enfranchisement. But by the 1877 meeting Frances secured the indorsement of a resolution similar to the Wallace resolution of two years previous. This was called the "thirteenth resolution" of 1877. It read quite simply: "*Resolved*, that as the responsibility of training of the children and youth rests largely upon woman, she ought to be allowed to open or close the rum shop door over against her home."

Now in the convention of 1878 Frances took a somewhat different tack, which bewildered her opponents. She offered a resolution:

> *Resolved*, That we stand by our action in the past, as recorded in the Home Protection Petition and in the thirteenth resolution of last year, we are as an organization and have been from the first thoroughly committed against in any way affiliating with the woman suffrage movement as being irrelevant to our work.

The wording of this resolution was obviously calculated to quiet the opposition while leaving a loophole to pursue suffrage work apart from the much-hated suffrage organization.

The editor of the paper who had waged and lost the terrific battle to keep suffrage news out of *Our Union* now arose and asked just what this resolution meant. Frances Willard ably defended her views. She frankly admitted the ambiguity of the resolution by saying, "It might mean one thing to me and something else to another." Stating that she did not know how the women of the East might interpret it, she struck the anvil squarely by adding that to the women of the West it meant that the best way in which temperance women could express their sentiments was to have them printed on a ticket and put in a ballot box on election day. This frank interpretation at once aroused the antisuffragists, who waged a fierce opposition to its adoption and secured its defeat. But out of the stormy sessions of the convention of 1878 came one significant victory—*Our Union* remained open to suffrage.

The second fundamental difference which separated Frances Willard and Annie Wittenmyer was the structure of organization. Frances envisioned from the first organizing days in Cleveland (1874) a great society which should be a power in the woman's movement. As she traveled from county to county and from state to

state she became aware, therefore, of the structural weakness of the Union. Representation was based on delegates elected from the states to the national convention according to congressional districts, which gave the poorly organized states the same number of representatives as the well-organized ones. Furthermore, no emphasis was placed upon dues, so that a large number of members neglected them. At the important national convention in 1878 her good friend Mrs. Hanna Whitall Smith, calling attention to the injustice of representation, introduced a resolution "that the Executive Committee is requested to devise a more equitable method of representation."

At the convention of 1879 another very good friend of Miss Willard, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster of Iowa, presented a similar memorial, giving notice that at the next meeting (1880) no delegate from states having failed to comply with the financial requirements of auxiliaryship would be allowed seats in the convention because many states were reporting a membership at variance with their dues (the auxiliaries were expected to pay the national treasury five cents for each member).[4] Mrs. Wittenmyer and her supporters defended their system by saying that the society should be on a praying basis and not a paying basis. They held that election of delegates should be broader than "one woman for every $15 reaching the National Treasury. Frances Willard contended that both "praying and paying" were pretty well united in everyday life and that, on behalf of Illinois, "we can never think it fair that States whose members do not live up to the requirements of a constitution which their own delegates have helped to adopt, should be represented on equal terms with the States which do meet these requirements." She then recounted the advantages that the new proposal of representation would have: (1) a new impetus in the work of increasing the number of local societies, (2) greater energy in developing states poorly organized, and (3) establishment of the society upon a financial basis. Asking that they all study the plan of paying members during the coming year and discuss it at the state conventions, Frances said she hoped there would be unanimous approval of it at the next national meeting (1880).

The approval of the national convention was not secured until 1881, four years after Frances began her campaign for revision. She had considered this an issue vital to the success or failure of the organ-

ization and the delay in making this change as retarding the progress of the organization. The system she urged during these years was in essence the difference between a loosely organized society and a well-integrated, solidified society. The suffrage associations were pitiable examples of the ineffectiveness of loosely constructed organizations, and similarly the national Union, during the first seven years (1874–81), was a loose, indefinite, and ineffective society. Had the organization of the Union remained as first drafted, it would never have achieved the proportions of a great woman's movement; but Frances from the beginning campaigned for a much greater victory for which she needed a regiment of paying as well as praying soldiers.

Frances Willard also differed with Mrs. Wittenmyer as to methods of expansion. A vigorous effort should be made to organize unions in the states where none existed, "as this kind of work will never do itself." She advocated sending paid workers into unorganized sections to acquaint the women with the work and to create a nucleus. The president, however, believed that no such effort was necessary and that the organization would grow naturally. In her last report as corresponding secretary (1877) Frances Willard had again pointed out the need of enlarging the Union through definite planning. She suggested that the partly organized states appoint a superintendent for such work but that the totally unorganized states should have paid organizers sent by the national Union. She drew attention to the fact that Oregon, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, the far western states, and the southern states were practically unorganized and presented a rich field of conquest for the national Union. But these sections remained unorganized until she attained national leadership of the Union.

A fourth point of difference between Frances Willard and the first president of the national Union was in broadening the work of the organization. To Frances Willard the Union was a great woman's society, while to Annie Wittenmyer it was merely an instrument to fight the "rum curse." The one therefore advocated the inclusion of all interests pertaining to the economic, social, and political well-being of women, while the other held to the single objective. Mrs. Wittenmyer and her followers believed that a diversity of interest meant a dilution of energy. In her broad policy to reach the public, therefore, Miss Willard advocated greater ef-

fort to enlist the support of the press.[5] She had been instrumental in establishing a department "On Influencing the Press" but felt greater emphasis should be given to it. Each local union was urged to appoint a representative to contact the editor of each local newspaper to obtain regular space. Frances Willard had herself set the women a good example: as president of the Illinois Union she secured fifty papers in the state that regularly printed a "Temperance Column."

As corresponding secretary she constantly urged a greater distribution of pamphlets and leaflets and frequently wrote some of the pamphlets herself. The report of 1879 showed that distribution of such printed material had reached the following figures: 2,540,000 Union leaflets in previous two years, and in the current year 22,000 copies of the *Catechism of Alcohol*, and 2,200 juvenile temperance manuals, 50,000 Sunday-school lessons, and 140,000 handbills on beer. She urged each local union to have a special "literature Committee."

Having once been a teacher, Frances Willard looked upon the schools as an important field for the extension of their work. Here she advocated a "manual of temperance instruction for use in public schools, embodying readings, recitations, illustrations from natural science, and experiments." In this connection, also, Miss Willard felt their work should be carried into the Sunday schools and suggested that each union arrange in its community for at least one temperance Sunday a year.

With imagination and foresight she early recognized the advantage of the Union's co-operating with other organizations. It was through her efforts that the national Union began sending representatives to conventions of allied organizations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, ministerial alliances, and other kindred associations. She also advocated taking an interest in the labor movement, then creating considerable stir in the land, and said: "We women should not pass over in silence in this great Convention the highest question of our day, one which, standing as we do between the rich and the poor, but nearer thank God, to the pleading voices of the poor, should have light thrown upon it by the vanguard torches that we bear." She also suggested that "homemaking" be made a department of their work and that books should be read by the local women on this subject and reports given.

Welfare work also had a place in her program with its subdivisions of prison work and aid to fallen women. Thus she stressed three major fields of activity in addition to temperance: suffrage, labor, and welfare. She advocated a variety of methods ranging from newspaper publicity to the writing of textbooks and courses in the public schools.

The petition early became a part of their work. Mrs. Wittenmyer also subscribed to this, although the two women differed as to the kind of memorial that should be presented to the legislatures. Frances Willard made good use of her striking phrase, "home protection." She labeled her petition the "Home Protection Petition," and in 1879 she published the *Home Protection Manual*. This was a treatise on how to prepare a petition, how to secure signers, and the right way to present it to the legislature.

When Frances Willard became president of the Illinois Union in 1878, she had the opportunity of testing the "Home Protection Petition." Her plan was to secure a huge petition, which should be presented to the Illinois legislature. Copies of the petition were accordingly sent to every minister, editor, postmaster, leading temperance man in the state, and every sympathetic organization likely to co-operate with them. The women were also instructed to solicit the backing of the churches in their community, at least to the extent of one Sunday-evening union service during the campaign. As the churches almost uniformly indorsed temperance, they were usually glad to give this much support. At the conclusion of such meetings the petition was circulated for signatures, and a woman prominent in the local Union made a brief talk. She also secured the support of such outstanding religious papers as the *Christian Union*, the *Independent*, and the *Witness*, all of New York; the *Golden Rule* and the *Zion's Herald*, of Boston: and the *Interior*, the *Standard*, and the *Alliance*, of Chicago. The work on the great petition was begun at Genesee on December 12, 1878, in a public address by Frances Willard. Finally, bearing 110,000 names, it was presented to the House of the Illinois legislature on March 6, 1879. These names had been pasted on white muslin eighteen inches wide, which was bound with red ribbon on one side and blue on the other. The *Chicago Tribune* (March 7, 1879) stated that it weighed fifty-five pounds and was the largest petition ever presented to the General Assembly.

The day of presentation had long been planned for and eagerly anticipated. It was a dramatic occasion. A large delegation of women crowded the gallery to witness the event. Andrew Hinds, state representative from Stephenson County, made the presentation, and Frances Willard followed with a brief talk. The famous petition read:

Whereas, In these years of temperance work the argument of defeat in our contest with the saloons has taught us that our efforts are merely palliative of a disease in the body politic, which can never be cured until law and moral suasion go hand in hand in our beloved state; and

Whereas, The instincts of self-protection and of appreciation for the safety of her children, her tempted loved ones, and her home, render woman the natural enemy of the saloon:

Therefore, Your petitioners, men and women of the state of Illinois, having at heart the protection of our homes from their worst enemy, the legalized traffic in strong drink, do hereby most earnestly pray your honorable body that, by suitable legislation, it may be provided that in the State of Illinois, the question of licensing at any time, in any locality, the sale of any and all intoxicating drinks, shall be submitted to and determined by ballot in which women of lawful age shall be privileged to take part, in the same manner as men, when voting on the question of license.

Thus was her temperance petition a suffrage petition. It was known as the Hinds Bill and sent to the Committee on Licenses.

After these formalities, Frances Willard practically moved into the State House to lobby for the bill, pending its reading in the Senate some weeks later. She even secured the use of the Senate Chamber for the evening of April 9, 1879, for the purpose of holding a temperance meeting.[6] Many of the legislators were sympathetic with the Hinds Bill, although most of them refused to pledge their support to it in fear of retaliation by the party caucus. Some of these men told her they did not dare vote for the bill, as the women could not compensate in votes for the loss of their party support. One of the most interesting and highly significant events of these weeks was the visit of the Grangers, who came in a body to see Frances Willard and to pledge her their support. This was indicative of the more liberal views held by the Grangers, farmer's alliances, and other "third-party groups."

On April 10 the petition was presented in the Illinois Senate by Mr. Talliaferro, senator from Mercer County. This was the gala

day of the entire campaign, the ceremony being much more elaborate than it had been in the House a month previous. During the interim the women had worked faithfully ro secure an additional 70,000 names, so that the petition at its second presentation contained 180,000 names. Senator Talliaferro, as reported in the *Chicago Tribune* (April 11, 1879), made a gallant speech, in which he said that he had the honor to present on behalf of the ladies of the state of Illinois the largest petition ever presented to a deliberative body on the American continent. Taking the names in rotation, he said, the petition was one and a half miles long. Those names, he continued, were their constituents: their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, and all they asked was a voice in the regulation and control of the liquor traffic in the state. He considered this a reasonable request, he said, which ought to be granted. The huge petition, he stated, showed the feeling of the people in the state and was too large to be ignored by the legislature.

After the Senator had concluded, Frances Willard was introduced by Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Shuman amid great applause. She made a brief talk as she had earlier in the House, asking for their approval of the measure. The Senate voted to send the bill to the Committee on Miscellany, and there it remained. Although in the spring elections of that year 625 towns out of 832 voted for local option, the real importance of the great petition was to project the Union formally into woman suffrage and politics.

In the *Home Protection Manual* she said the Illinois petition asked the legislature for the ballot only on the temperance question. But the state of Indiana, she added, had already asked for the ballot on all questions. Minnesota and Iowa had fallen into line for suffrage, she recounted, as had Ohio more recently. "The whole twenty-three states already joined in the Union will ere long clasp hands in the only work which can ever fulfill the glorious prophecy of the Crusade," she confidently predicted. The women of Illinois responded almost as a unit to this campaign for the Home Protection Petition. Frances Willard had won them by her appeal to the "home." The Illinois petition became the pattern for similar state memorials.

Mrs. Wittenmyer, although adopting the name of the Willard "Home Protection Petition," worded it quite differently. All reference to suffrage she deleted. Frances Willard had helped the presi-

dent in the campaign securing petitions and in fact had gained much valuable experience thereby. This petition of the national Union was presented to Congress on January 20, 1878, by Representative William P. Fry of Maine.[7] Thus this expurgated petition preceded Miss Willard's famous Illinois petition by a year.

The significant point of difference between this memorial presented to Congress in 1878 under the leadership of Mrs. Wittenmyer and the memorial presented to the Illinois state legislature in 1879 under the leadership of Frances Willard was suffrage. In the former, consent was asked to be by petition of the majority of the men and women in the district; but the latter asked that the sale of liquor be conditional upon the ballot of men and women. Although this memorial to Congress used the same magic words of "home protection," it invalidated the fundamental concept of Frances Willard by substituting the word "petition" for "ballot." The wide difference in the goal of the two women continually broadened the chasm between them. In an effort to circumvent Mrs. Wittenmyers' stilted policy, Frances campaigned for greater freedom of the state Unions. As she spoke from place to place telling of the work and of her plans, she swung many of the women to her views.

Finally, at the national convention of 1879 at Indianapolis, Frances Willard won success. For five years she had labored to gain the support of the organization to her views and policy. The contest between herself and Mrs. Wittenmyer was rendered more difficult because of their difference in age. Mrs. Wittenmyer represented the older generation, Frances Willard the new generation. Now in 1879 came her splendid triumph. Frances Willard was elected the national president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Commenting on this success, she said that the principles of the liberal wing of "our society became dominant, not so much by specific declaration as by choice of leaders who incarnated these principles." These principles of the liberal wing she described as follows:

> Two policies had in the five years' evolution of the Crusade Movement become distinctly outlined under the names: "Conservative" and "Liberal." . . . . Mrs. Wittenmyer, believed in holding the states and local unions to strict account, in short, maintaining strongly the central power of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She also vigorously opposed the ballot for women. In opposition to this, we "liberals"

interpreted the constitution of our society on the laissez-faire principle, we believed in making very few requirements of the state and local unions . . . . believing that the less we asked the more we should get. So we declared for state rights. In respect to woman's ballot we believed it was part and parcel of the temperance movement.

Thus the leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union passed from the conservative East to the liberal West. Suffrage had been the fundamental issue between them.

As the West provided the fertile soil for the growth of the new suffrage movement, a brief review of those elements in this section which set it apart with special interests from the rest of the country may aid in understanding how Frances Willard linked the spirit of the frontier with her reforms. The West was the battleground of all the reform movements in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Here were fought out the issues of free silver, low tariffs, soft money, government regulation of the railroads, Granger laws, prohibition, and woman suffrage. Here was transplanted the old New England idealism with its tinge of Puritanism. All this Frances was a part of. She had from earliest childhood lived in frontier communities: Churchville, Oberlin, Janesville, and Evanston. It is generally conceded that the famous historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, has best interpreted the West of the nineteenth century. The following passage from Turner gives an excellent view of this radical, turbulent section in American politics:

> If we follow back the line of march of the Puritan farmer, we shall see how responsive he has always been to isms, and how persistently he has resisted encroachments on his ideals of individual opportunity and democracy. He is the prophet of the "higher law" in "bleeding Kansas" before the Civil War. He is the Prohibitionist of Iowa and Wisconsin crying out against German customs as an invasion of his traditional ideals. He is the Granger of Wisconsin, passing restrictive railroad legislation, he is the abolitionist, the antimason, the woman suffragist, the spiritualist.[8]

There were two deep currents of conflict which colored and molded the aroused sentiment of the West: one was the bitter feeling against the immigrant and the other was opposition to the East, especially the eastern capitalists, whom they characterized as "despoilers" and "robbers." The conflict between the native and the immigrant was based on a difference of culture. The westerners were the most vigorous adherents of democracy to be found in the

land. The frontiersman in each succeeding decade had formed the advance guard of liberty and equality. Men and women labored side by side under the open sky of the prairie to build a new community. Equality became their accepted birthright.

The Germans constituted the largest foreign element to be absorbed. Turner states that, according to the 1890 census, the number of persons of German parentage was about 11 per cent of the population and those of German ancestry were about 25 per cent. These people were distributed in a belt of population running west from the coast between the northern boundary of Massachusetts and Maryland, until the Ohio River was reached, when they spread north of the Great Lakes and on into the neighboring states of the trans-Mississippi region. The Germans, being the largest alien group and the most individualistic, aroused the greatest resentment from the natives in the West.

These immigrants, with their foreign culture and customs, settled on the free lands of the prairie and attempted to impose their culture on the robust, puritanical West. The native stock in this section was for the most part descended from the old New England Puritans. These rugged persons sternly endured the hardships of the frontier and found their little enjoyment in religion and the "meeting house." Hence they felt bitter resentment toward the immigrants with their love of music, beer, and Sunday holiday merriment. The noted authority on German immigrants, Albert B. Faust, says that the true German type has frequently and is still running counter to the puritanical element.

Frances Willard, having lived among these people all her life, understood their views on labor, tariff, money, religion, and women. To carry the West it was essential that she link together these reform measures, for they were all a part of western thought. By basing her appeal on religion, temperance, and labor she secured the ear of western people. The suffrage women never knew how to make a popular appeal. Frances Willard did. It was, therefore, of the utmost significance to the Union and to women that at the national convention of 1879 Frances Willard was elected president of the national Union.

It has often been said that she was one who made no effort for leadership but had the honor thrust upon her. As one good woman wrote for the *Union Signal* (January 11, 1923): "Did Frances Wil-

lard strive for the position of supremacy she occupied? She strove only for the upbuilding of righteousness. She had crucified self absolutely and this was the secret of her power, and it is the lesson which young women are to learn from her life." This is an inaccurate and confusing statement. Frances Willard commanded the woman's temperance legion because she skilfully planned to do so. She won her power the hard way. She had been ambitious from a child, when Oliver first awakened her emulation of his superior feats. She wanted to be known in the world. "I never knew what it was not to aspire and not to believe myself capable of heroism. I have always wanted . . . . to be widely known, loved and believed in—the more widely the better," she said in later life. Even as a young teacher she lamented to her diary: "Ah, Frances Willard aspiring mortal! Hungry for love and fame." With her election to the presidency of the national Union in October, 1879, she was well on her way to fame. She had captured the leadership of a fresh, vigorous woman's society which had the general approval of the press and the pulpit.

CHAPTER XI

National President of the Union

THE triumph of the western faction under the leadership of Frances Willard in the national convention of 1879 marked a change in the objectives of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Heretofore the Union had been little more than a praying society for the cause of temperance; now it was to become the most conspicuous woman's organization of the century. The struggle that Miss Willard waged during the late seventies to strengthen the structural basis of the society culminated shortly after she became national president (1881). She had urged that representation to the national convention be based upon paid membership in the local unions. One of the weaknesses in the suffrage association had been the lax organization. Frances Willard early perceived that only by counting paid memberships could the fighting strength of the Union be ascertained and loyalty maintained. Furthermore, the fact that delegates were now apportioned according to paid membership offered an incentive for the local units to strive for new members. This structural change of representation became one of the foundation stones upon which Frances Willard reared the new edifice of the Union.

She also had agitated for national superintendents to direct the work of the departments in place of national committees, which she deemed ineffective. The new plan was inaugurated in 1880, and it soon justified her confidence in its greater efficiency. The long campaign she waged in the Union on behalf of the suffrage question also bore fruit in 1880, when the national convention voted to include this subject in their general program. With these changes in national policy and with a vibrantly progressive young leader at the helm, it was now full sail ahead.

Frances Willard possessed the rare quality of showmanship and made dramatic spectacles of the annual conventions. No conven-

[*Editors please publish and Temperance People Circulate.*]

"For God and Home and Native Land."

HOME PROTECTION PETITION.

ILLINOIS W. C. T. U.

Local Temperance Campaign of 1880

[Amoug the many prominent religious newspapers which have editorially indorsed the Home Protection movement are the following: *Christian Union*, *Independent* and *Witness*, New York; *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, *Advance*, *Interior*, *Standard* and *Alliance*, Chicago; *The Golden Rule* and *Zion's Herald*, Boston.]

NOT to be sent to STATE Headquarters, since this Petition is for LOCAL use ONLY, but to be returned to ———, *at* ———, *by the* ——— *day of* ———, *without fail.*

Any number of copies of this petition will be sent to any address, if desired; but it is also earnestly requested that persons interested in utilizing the influence of woman against the legalized traffic in strong drink will have printed or written copies of the Petition made and circulated from house to house, store to store and office to office, as well as in all public assemblies. Let them also be sent to editors, ministers, Sunday-school and public school teachers, and to all Reform Clubs and other temperance societies. All ministers and temperance speakers are requested to present the Petition to their audiences, after a sermon, address or exhortation on the subject of which it treats. The following method of securing signatures in audiences is recommended: Previous to opening the meeting, place in each pew a narrow strip of paper, with the words "Names of Men over 21" written across the top, and "Names of Women over 18" half way down the strip. After reading the Petition, at the close of the meeting, call attention to these papers and constitute the lady or gentlemen sitting in the end of each pew or seat nearest the aisle *a committee of one* to see that all in that seat have the opportunity to sign the slip of paper. Let one person be in attendance in each aisle with pencils to lend, and let this person gather up the slips as soon as signed. These autographs are to be sent to the local headquarters, to be pasted upon the Petition. While the signing proceeds, such hymns as "America" or Miss Lathbury's "Home Protection Hymn" may be sung by the choir. When the largest number of signatures *possible* has been obtained, send the list of autograph signatures, stating *plainly* where they were obtained, to the Headquarters of the Local W. C. T. U. Write on one side only. Paste more paper on the Petition as required. Names may be signed in pencil, and autographs only are desired.

To the Mayor and Council of ——— *(or to the Town Board):*

We, the undersigned, men and women of ———, believe that women should be granted a voice in deciding whether we are to have dram-shops among the institutions of our city (town or village); and we earnestly desire that provision be made, by special ordinance, for a vote on the question of legalizing the liquor traffic here, and that in such vote women be invited to share.

NAMES OF MEN OVER 21.	NAMES OF WOMEN OVER 18.

tion of women during the century offered such fanfare as these meetings of the Union. The halls were gay with banners, flags, flowers, and music, with pretty girl-pages acting as ushers. Reports were made by the state superintendents of each department of work and speeches from the floor by officials and delegates, yet strict parliamentary discipline was maintained throughout all the sessions. The press was not slow to reflect the spirit of these meetings. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* (October 27, 1880) reported:

> . . . . a somewhat remarkable assembly. It may be doubted whether a company of women has ever been associated in this country of equal religious, intellectual and moral force. . . . . So complete is its system of local and leagued combination, especially in some of the western states, that several legislatures have been nearly controlled by the powerful influence it has brought to bear.

When the convention met in Washington, the *Washington Post* (October 27, 1881) stated that it attracted more attention than any convention which had been held there in the past decade. This account also emphasized the fact that, although it was a convention of women from the presiding officer down to the pretty ushers, yet it was so ably conducted as to "bid fair to go into the record as the most orderly and expeditious ever held in the District." The character of the convention was well appraised by the *Washington Post* (October 28, 1881):

> This convention is essentially respectful and intellectual. Even the colored delegates have a wise sedate expression on their faces. These women are not, as is generally supposed, female suffragists. That is, they do not meet as such or work upon a suffrage basis. "Not one sixth of us," said an elderly delegate, "are anxious to wield the ballot. We are, as a rule domestic women, wives and mothers . . . . banded together to root out the curse of rum. We are not anxious to vote but if by wielding the ballot we can better accomplish our aims, then welcome the female franchise, and the sooner the better."

Even the newspapers called attention to the attractive setting of the convention. The platform was draped with the American colors of red, white, and blue. Ferns and flowers adorned the stage, while a large portrait of the recently assassinated Garfield hung in the background. Around the railing of the balcony were the colorful shields and banners of the local unions and the coat-of-arms of every state there represented. It was in this festive hall that the

delegates from the North and South mingled as they never had since the days before the Civil War. One southern lady proudly told a reporter, "we are a crowd of regular rebels," and proceeded to enumerate some of their distinguished delegates. One was a relative of Stonewall Jackson, another a relative of Robert E. Lee, and a third was the niece of Hugh S. Legare. Many of them, moreover, she hastened to add, were the widows and daughters of southern heroes of the war. But Rebels and Yankees were here engaged in a common cause.

When the convention met in Boston, the *Boston Post* (November 19, 1891) said editorially: "Frances Willard and her white ribboned host made no small stir in Boston." In reporting the meeting the paper stated that the delegates gave evidence that Frances Willard was the power which made the Union. Her personal magnetism was described as "wonderful." Such praise was no exaggeration. The devotion she inspired among her followers was almost akin to idolatry and was repeatedly remarked in the press over a period of twenty years. "In all American History," said the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (November 9, 1892), "there is not among women such another record, nor even among men." Although she was slight and frail of stature, she would preside for hours on end without showing signs of weariness. She never became flustered or lost her temper but preserved at all times perfect self-control. And always there was her delightful sense of humor to preserve balance even if exerted at her own expense.

Frances Willard was, indeed, the very heart and core of the organization. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (November 7, 1892) observed of the Denver convention of this year that it was as remarkable a meeting as had always been the case since the election of Frances Willard to the presidency. Such a domination was all the more conspicuous, inasmuch as the Union confronted the localism and prejudices of all sections of the country, as well as all religious beliefs, including Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Unitarians, and Christian Scientists. But, despite this dissimilarity of views, differences of opinion were merged in a steadfast loyalty to Frances Willard.

The convention held in Baltimore in 1895 was highly commended in the local press for its beautiful decorations and efficient leadership. It was held in the Music Hall, which was then considered one of the most beautiful audience rooms in the country and had on this

occasion been made doubly attractive by the committee on arrangements. The back of the stage was banked with potted plants, clustered palms appeared at either end, while the front of the stage was filled with ferns. Over the stage hung the American Cross with "W.C.T.U. 1895" just below in a large floral design. Around the balcony hung the colorful array of banners and coats-of-arms of the states. The *Baltimore American* (October 19, 1895) proclaimed Frances Willard one of the best presiding officers the city had seen in years. An editorial comment in the same paper (October 23, 1895) praised the perfected organization, the well-arranged methods, and the ability of the leader. Of her personally the article said:

> . . . . Its president, Miss Willard, has proven herself a woman of wonderful ability as a presiding officer, remarkable tact as a parliamentarian, and at the same time, a woman of the most lovable character, admired by all and loved by everyone who has been brought in contact with her, or who has felt the force of her earnest words. Though mild and gentle in her manner, she is none the less stern in her denunciation of the wrong and firm in her upholding of the right.

Through her vivid personality Frances Willard thus made the national convention a thrilling, exciting occasion, while at the same time she kept it well disciplined and strictly under parliamentary control. The color and dash she gave these meetings attracted women from far and wide. By means of this conservative, dignified, yet dramatic association, she marshaled women into a formidable array not equaled by any other society in the nineteenth century. These national conventions were the most important woman's convocation of the year. They were important, first, because these annual meetings were composed of duly elected delegates representing definitely organized local units. Their very compactness of structure gave them power and solidarity. The second factor of importance in the annual meetings was that they were for and by women, which gave them the force of a homogeneous group with common interests and a common goal. Frances Willard had described the Union as a society of the women, by the women, but for humanity. Third, the conventions offered a definite program of work, with the machinery for executing a policy. These conventions, furthermore, were truly national in scope, drawing women from every part of the nation. The suffrage meetings for many years had been very largely attended by eastern women. It was not until

after the turn of the century that they were able to develop a network of local suffrage associations. But in the Union there was a mingling of women from the four corners of the nation once a year. These conventions were held year by year in different cities in different parts of the land, so that no one section could claim priority. Another reason the conventions stand out with such importance is that they served as schools for political training. Here hundreds of women learned to speak in public and to conduct a meeting; they learned something of parliamentary law and something about the exciting issues of their day—labor, socialism, peace, welfare, politics, as well as temperance. The prestige these national conventions acquired under Miss Willard's skilful direction is discernible in the published letter in the *Chicago Tribune* (May 8, 1896) of Governor William J. Stone, extending a welcome for their forthcoming convention to be held that autumn in St. Louis. He said in part that the meeting of this great organization in the principal city of the state would be appreciated as a compliment by the people of Missouri and that St. Louis and Missouri were to be congratulated that they were to have the honor of entertaining such an influential body of women. When the Union convened in St Louis, the *Globe-Democrat* (November 14, 1896) said: "No grander concourse of women has ever assembled in America than that which was called to order at 9:30 o'clock yesterday morning."

As Frances Willard dramatized the national convention, so did she dramatize her speaking tours. Her secretarial report of 1877 showed that there was much to be done in organizing the South and West which could be accomplished only by sending organizers into the field. The convention cheers of 1879 had hardly subsided before she and her faithful Anna started on their mission which continued for nearly ten years. In 1880 they made a brief exploratory trip into the border-line South, but the following year they crossed the southern states from Maryland to Texas. The South was known to be unfriendly both to women speakers and to northern visitors, so they feared an unfriendly, if not hostile, reception. To their surprise they found southern people kindhearted, hospitable gentlefolk, who warmly responded to friendly overtures. Miss Willard was pleased when she took the platform at Raleigh, North Carolina, to find the flag of the nation there as well as the flag of the state. Governor Thomas Jordan Jarvis introduced her, commended her highly to

the audience, and declared that he took his stand with the temperance people. This kind of a welcome unlocked doors and opened homes which she had feared would always remain closed to a northern woman. The approval of the governor of North Carolina meant that she was acceptable to the people south of the Mason and Dixon line, although the resentment of the South toward the Yankee conquerors remained to the end of the century.

Although the carpetbag regime was practically ended by the late seventies, the southern people were left so torn and mangled by their postwar experience that the name of any northerner tended to arouse their resentment and hate. That Frances Willard was entertained by these people, especially by their leading citizens, and even by such an outstanding personality as Mrs. Jefferson Davis, bespeaks her own charm and tact. She was, in truth, an emissary of good will to a distressed and bleeding land. As she expressed it, the trip was the most unique in her history as in the Reconstructed South she found herself "reconstructed."

Leaving Raleigh, she went to Charleston, South Carolina. Here had once gathered the flower of southern aristocracy for the gay winter season. It was the very heart of the South in spirit and in temperament. In this historic town she was introduced to her first audience by Bishop P. F. Stevens of the Reformed Episcopal church. At the outbreak of the Civil War he had been a major commanding the Point and Iron Batteries at Fort Sumter and had won lasting fame among his compatriots by ordering his battery to fire the first shot on Fort Sumter. He was as staunch a southerner as she a northerner, yet she successfully bridged this gap to achieve unity between them on the temperance issue.[1] To be sponsored by such a representative of the southern hierarchy also lent prestige and dignity to her campaign. From Charleston she went to Columbia, where she spoke in the Baptist Church. The Ordinance of Secession, first approved here, had been passed not so long since but that people still cherished the memory of their gallant deed. It is somewhat surprising that the people would even come to such a sanctuary to hear a northern woman speak. But the church was crowded. Governor Alfred Holt Colquitt followed the example of the sister-state of North Carolina by introducing her to the audience. Her stay here was further brightened by a reception given her by a kinsman, Judge Willard.

In the three months she remained in the South, Frances Willard visited about one hundred towns, receiving a cordial welcome everywhere. The approval of her tour by the Methodist Church South was of infinite aid in opening the way for her lectures and in the splendid reception accorded her. The acute problem of the free Negro and liquor which the South faced was in large part the reason for success here. Strangely enough, she did not understand this situation before going there or she might not have felt such trepidation.

From 1880 until the spring of 1896 Frances Willard made, in all, nine trips to the South, according to the *St. Louis Dispatch* (March 21, 1896). Her success in this unhappy, war-embittered part of the land was unprecedented, as judged by the press reports and the recognition given her by some of their leading citizens. Dr. A. G. Haywood of Emory University, Oxford, Georgia, said: "Few persons in our country have been more liberally endowed with natural gifts. Modest, self-poised, with masterful use of her resources, she gave us the best address I have heard on the subject of temperance."[2] Dr. Davis, pastor of the Methodist Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, wrote that he considered Frances Willard one of the most wonderful women of the age. Although he had fought in the southern army and was prejudiced against women's speaking in public, he fully accepted her. Frances Willard, he said, was the first woman to speak in New Orleans, which had opened the way for other women. "Woman advocates are springing up in the South and are tolerated since Miss Willard's tour."

Returning home from her ninth journey through the South, she was reported by the *Chicago Evening Post* (March 24, 1896) as "having made a triumphant tour." She spoke, the paper stated, to large audiences in every one of the twenty states she visited. In Jackson, Mississippi, the state legislature adjourned to attend her meeting; and in many cities the boards of education dismissed the schools so that the children should not miss the opportunity of hearing her.

After her first trip through the South, Frances Willard conceived the idea of her Home Protection party. It was undoubtedly her idea to form a party which would cut across sectional lines and thus unite the North and the South on the great common issue of temperance. But she failed to comprehend the prejudice of the South to woman suffrage; and this to her was fundamental. The nine trips

she made to the South, however, resulted in the formation of numerous strong unions, both white and colored, and in vigorous state organizations. A letter from Anna (McKinney, Texas, February 14, 1882) to Mrs. Willard said: "We are travelling through the mud of this immense state planting the W.C.T.U. here and there, and having tremendous meetings all along the lines."

These trips did much to bring a closer understanding between the women of the North and the South. Year after year delegates from both sections met in annual conclave and mingled their views and their prejudices to form new friendships.

In 1883 Frances Willard set out on what she termed the "round-up," which was a western term she adopted especially for her western tour. Yet she actually visited every state and territory in the land during that year in commemoration of the Crusade which had started in December, 1873. She and Anna went without funds or advance notice except a few letters to friends, but the newspapers heralded her coming. Everywhere she was accorded an enthusiastic welcome. She was helped along the way by railroad passes, steamship tickets, donations from the Good Templars, and contributions from her lectures. Sometimes the donations failed and collections were too small to pay for transportation to the next engagement. In such dire situations she was forced to borrow money to keep going. By such indefinite finances she and Anna covered about thirty thousand miles.

In California she visited thirty-three towns and succeeded well in organizing the state. From California she took the boat to Oregon and thence into the mountainous regions of Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and the Dakotas. The network of railroads had not yet spanned this section, so that traveling was mostly overland. Thirty-six uncomfortable hours she spent in reaching Lewiston, Idaho, only to discover when she finally arrived that no meeting could be held. The town was under quarantine. The tedious trip was not altogether a loss, as she managed to read the letters of Jane Carlyle while jogging over the rough roads.[3] Her account of the overland trip from Missoula to Helena, Montana, a distance of 182 miles, is a picture of the hardships of western travel.

We left Missoula July 26 in a covered conveyance for Helena and Deer Lodge—a distance of 182 miles. The two horses and entire outfit had been loaned. We perambulated along through wooded valleys the sun's light

obscured by forest fires and great pines. We camped at noon beside a gurgling brook, spread our table cloth, boiled our eggs and tea over a fire made from pine cones—and took up our "jog trot" over the hills and wished for the railroad.

We made the valleys echo to the "Rock of Ages," "Guide Me O Thou Great Jehovah," "Wonderful Words of Life." One noon we stopped at a farm as no shady nook had been found for camping. We were made welcome and set out our lunch on the table.

We jog on again. On the third day we passed the place where robbers sacked a stage the day previous. On fourth day passed logs beside the road from behind which not twenty-four hours earlier, three masked men pointed guns at another stage coach.

But as they slowly bumped over the trail, there was always something humorous to keep the laughter in their hearts. One of their party asked a young girl whom they met if she had ever seen the cars (the railroad), and she replied, "No, sir, I can't say that I ever saw the cars but I don't care, I'd just as lief see the stage." In passing through a small town they noticed an immigrant woman seated in a rude wagon drawn by a team of oxen. She was waiting for her husband to come out of the near-by saloon. So they hailed her and asked how she liked the new country. "Well, stranger," she replied, "it may do well enough for men but I tell you what, its a drefful poor country for women and oxen!"

Frances Willard completed the roundup of 1883, visiting every state and territory and speaking on an average of once a day. From such an intensive campaign the local Unions developed rapidly. Although 1883 was made spectacular by the roundup, the organizing effort of the Union went forward rapidly from the time Miss Willard was elected national president. Even as corresponding secretary she had accomplished much organizing work. As she recorded in her *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, "in the last twelve years I have been perpetually on the road going 15,000 to 20,000 miles per year." During the decade of the eighties she averaged only three weeks a year at home. Yet, as she traveled ceaselessly back and forth across the land, she kept in close touch with the state units. Her correspondence amounted to over fifteen thousand letters a year, most of which received her personal attention. Such close application to duty brought success to the Union but, as she remarked, exacted a heavy penalty upon her. She who had loved music, painting, poetry, and literature was forced to forego any

enjoyment of these or other intellectual forays for the sake of her work. On one occasion she wistfully said that she saw the friends of her youth growing in appreciation of all these things while she knew less about them than she had ten years before.

Frances Willard developed into an orator of great appeal and by many people was considered the most outstanding woman speaker of the century. As her power to captivate an audience was heralded from town to town, crowds came in increasing numbers to hear her. She became headline news from Maine to California and from Oregon to Florida. The papers praised her as a speaker of unusual charm and ability. There was thus a dramatic element about her campaign tours which carried them to success. Here was an attractive woman with a magnetic personality able to hold throngs of people spellbound. Small wonder she became a sensation and that the press devoted columns to her wherever she appeared. As her publicity grew, so grew the Union.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was seething with new ideas on labor, religion, economics, politics, education, and woman. The time was ripe, therefore, for a great organization to lead women into participation in the new thought and to absorb their energy released from home duties as industrialization rapidly spread. The great mass of conservative women had little interest in voting until aroused from their age-long lethargy. But the new economy which remade the nation after the bloody conflict of 1861 needed an army of women in business. Likewise, the normal schools and colleges developed a generation of educated women, keen and alert to the new problems of the day. Frances Willard swung her wide-flung temperance organization behind the awakening womanhood of the nation. She made her Union the gateway to the larger sphere of usefulness for women by its multifold lines of work. In her presidential address of 1885 she said:

> Very sacred seems the comradeship of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Nothing in life has so satisfied some of our hearts. It is a high and holy calling. As I have long believed, it is God's way out of the wilderness for half the human race. In its glowing crucible, the dross of sectional enmity is being rapidly dissolved; the trifling occupations, the narrow aims, the paralyzing indolence of women are barriers burned away by its all-conquering heat while their once impoverished lives are expanded into wide areas of gracious strength and heavenly magnanimity.

Accordingly, she called the Woman's Christian Temperance Union a school for women in which they might learn how to take their place alongside of men in the great work assigned to useful human beings. Building the Union into a strong organization was only part of her work. There were also plans to be evolved for numerous activities. Although her effort to organize Unions in every state and territory of the nation was fundamental to the strength of the organization, her policy of many activities was fundamental to a great woman's movement. Only by such a program could she hope to interest thousands of women.

In her first presidential address (1880) she forecast the new direction of the Union when she stated that those women who did not desire to engage in temperance work would find other interests within the framework of the Union. The multiplicity of departments which she henceforth fostered was designed to appeal to every woman. The great variety of work was such that each person could find a phase of activity which she enjoyed. This wide, all-embracing program Miss Willard called the "Do-Everything Policy." Adroitly she had this policy adopted by the Union in the form of the following resolution submitted by one of her friends at the Washington convention (1881):

> *Resolved*, That wisdom dictates the Do-everything policy: Constitutional amendment, where the way is open for it; Home protection where Home Protection is the strongest rallying cry; Equal franchise, where the votes of women joined to those of men can alone give stability to temperance legislation.[4]

Within ten years after becoming president Miss Willard had organized thirty-nine departments of work. She classified the great issues of the day into three major subjects: temperance, labor, and woman. The Do-Everything Policy provided the elasticity for her to carry on a wide range of activities. Explaining the policy of the Union before the Woman's Congress at Des Moines in 1885, she said:

> We are always moving on. Time cannot dull nor custom stale our infinite variety. . . . . Our new departures are frequent and oftentimes most unexpected. Indeed, we exhibit the characteristics of an army on the march, rather than an army in camp or hospital.

To discuss all of the thirty-nine departments of the Do-Everything Policy would be tedious, but a glance at some of the impor-

tant ones will give another clue to the influence of this remarkable leader of masses of women. One of the most important departments relating to the American home was the one variously called "Social Purity," "Suppression of the Social Evil," or the "White Cross." This department was established in 1885 at the Philadelphia convention as a result of the disclosures of newspapers concerning the abduction of young girls often only twelve or thirteen years old. The London *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* among a score of other papers had lurid accounts of the recruitment of girls for brothels and other dens of vice. In England the Bishop of Durham, with the co-operation of Ellice Hopkins, had founded the White Cross League to cope with the appalling conditions there revealed. With the English society as an example and the amazing stories printed by the newspapers in this country, Frances Willard announced to the convention that "silence seems criminal." After several prominent women at the Philadelphia convention had refused the chairmanship of this work, Frances Willard, herself, assumed direction.

Explaining that the laws of the land were deficient in their provision for the protection of girls and that many states like Illinois did not even recognize seduction as a crime, she said: "We have been the victims of conventional cowardice too long. Let us, by a fearless avowal of our purpose take up the work of promoting social purity by the inculcation of right principles and the serious demands for more equitable laws."[5] Other states had laws as inadequate as Illinois. Miss Willard pointed out that in Massachusetts and Vermont it was a greater crime to steal a cow than to abduct a girl, yet the women of these states had been too delicate, too prudish, to wage a war for better laws, she added. It was not until April, 1899, over a year after her death, that Illinois, as a result of the agitation which she had raised, gave protection to women by raising the age of consent to eighteen.

The campaign outlined included, first and foremost, the use of the petition to be presented to both Congress and the state legislatures. Beginning work upon the great petition, she at once visited T. V. Powderly, chief of the Knights of Labor, who commanded an organization of over half-a-million men. He not only agreed to recommend it to his followers but asked for 92,000 copies of the petitions that he might send one to every local assembly of Knights.

These petitions signed by his men, he said, would be returned to her at Evanston. Miss Willard was so overjoyed by his generous offer of co-operation in this difficult matter that she at once asked him for his picture, which she thereafter kept upon her desk. Finally, the great petition on purity was presented to Congress on January 13, 1887, by the ever gallant Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, who had presented so many former petitions for the women of the Union.[6]

Similar petitions calling attention to the alarming frequency of assaults upon women and girls were sent to nearly every state and territorial legislature in the United States. The impact of these petitions upon the state legislatures was astounding. One state after another began the revision of its statutes. Meanwhile, Frances Willard, as time permitted, spoke upon this theme, presenting her plea before Chautauqua meetings, the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Church, the Woman's Congress of 1888, and other kindred organizations. She told them that in twenty states the age of consent was ten years and in one state it was seven.[7] She wrote articles and pamphlets upon the subject and introduced the white-cross pledge in the juvenile department of the Union.

The department of social purity aroused considerable controversy both within and without the Union. The subject was one of those taboos that most people of the Mauve Age preferred not to recognize, much less discuss. Even educated women offered forthright objection to the public discussion of social purity as a violation of time-honored modesty. Frances had counted heavily upon the support of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, only to receive a sharp rebuff. Like her weaker sisters, Miss Phelps was appalled at the proposal to "admit the White Cross under the flag of the W.C.T.U." Despite such opposition, Frances Willard took her stand irrevocably on the side of protection for girls and women. Adequate protection was unattainable without knowledge, and all of this was more important than observance of the old proprieties. At a time when many women felt the subject should be only whispered about, she boldly discussed it from the platform and earnestly labored to arouse public opinion for better laws. Like home protection for temperance, this was an appeal to the hearths and interested fathers as well as mothers. On this issue most of the Union came to stand loyally with their leader and worked faithfully securing petitions which

were sent to the state legislatures. As stated by the *Woman's Tribune* (December 17, 1887), the Union women usually stood staunchly behind the victims of assault cases, attending every session of such trials to throw their moral support for conviction. In the latter years of the century, state after state changed this law and raised the age of consent as well as increased the punishment to offenders. It is impossible to assess accurately the influence of the Union in bringing about such remedial legislation, yet no other organization lent the influence to the movement that it did or sent in the number of petitions. It was the proud boast of the Union that it had raised the age of consent in every state but two. After 1900 the suffrage association took up the matter and carried the issue through until every state amended such laws. It probably is not too much to say that Frances Willard and the Union turned the searchlight of public opinion on this sordid matter and by numerous petitions brought the issue squarely before the legislators.

Another department which made a strong appeal to the home-sentiment was that of health and hygiene. Miss Willard was extremely fortunate in securing Mrs. J. H. Kellogg, wife of Dr. Kellogg of Battle Creek Sanitarium, as national superintendent for this work. State and local Unions were urged to appoint for this work a woman doctor. Rules of health were studied in the local units, leaflets on the subject circulated, and lectures arranged. Such health topics were discussed as "Exercise," "Clothing," "Diet," "Care of the Skin," and other kindred subjects of interest to women. Frances Willard spared no opportunity to impress upon women the evils of tight lacing and the general disregard of exercise. The bicycle she especially recommended as an excellent form of exercise. The hygiene department was highly successful, and many women joined the Union just for this one advantage.

Mother's meetings also made a direct appeal to the American home. Women who were not members of the Union frequently attended these sessions in order to talk over with other mothers their mutual problems. In these days the Parent-Teacher Association was yet unborn nor was there any other organized effort to help young mothers solve their problems. Established in 1888, this department encouraged discussion of such subjects as "Mother's Duties to the Public Schools," "Morals and Manners—How To

Teach Them," "A Few of a Mother's Difficulties," "Responsibility of Parents," and "A Mother's Rights and a Mother's Duties." Frances Willard's interest in the mothers' department was largely prompted by her own mother, who had said: "You cannot too strongly emphasize the value of maternal meetings in the work of the W.C.T.U. They give the aggregate wisdom and experience of many mothers as to the most successful methods of securing obedience to parental authority." In 1889 the national superintendent of this work published a book called *Plain Talks for Young Home Makers*. Thus did the Union attempt to fill the need of a counselor for young mothers at a time when no other agency had foreseen the need. This department was another link to tie women to the Union.

In 1882 the department of the "kitchen-garten" was introduced with the twofold purpose of instructing girls in the art of cookery and training them in a "trade." This work created considerable enthusiasm, and in many Unions the girls formed regular classes employing an experienced teacher. Girls who wanted domestic jobs had no difficulty in placement after this guidance. Thus the kitchen-garten fulfilled the threefold purpose of teaching girls how to prepare food, training girls for service, and securing jobs for them.

Another feature which attracted mothers was the kindergartens. Although first established in the United States about 1855 by Mrs. Carl Schurz, they developed slowly, especially in the small towns and rural sections. In the early eighties Frances Willard included this as another department of their work. It was designed primarily to reach the mothers through their children but also to win the children early and train them in the precepts of the Union. The kindergarten department was highly successful and interested both mother and child.

Again making home the appeal, she created the department of peace and arbitration. She was progressive enough in her thinking to associate the constructive policy of arbitration with peace. Although never reaching the disarmament phase of this question, she stressed arbitration as a means of securing peace. Prior to the Hague Conference of 1899, the dual policies of peace and arbitration were not closely identified or accepted by any appreciable part of the public. Within two years nineteen state Unions had established local departments of peace and arbitration. The women responded enthusiastically to such a project. Peace was not a new idea in the

eighties, for peace associations had been doing active work in this country since 1815 and the Prohibition party had included a peace plank in their platform. "As in all things else," Miss Willard said, "the society of the White Ribbon is in accord with the party of the white rose."[8] Yet the incorporation of this work into the Union was a decidedly forward step. Within the next few years this department sent out five thousand calendars depicting the destruction of war, which were placed in railroad stations, post offices, and in other public places. In addition to the distribution of over a hundred thousand leaflets, lecturers were sent to schools, teachers' institutes, and elsewhere to arouse the public conscience for peace. In June, 1889, the Union sent delegates to the World Peace Congress held in Paris. This was the year, also, of the first Pan-American Conference. Frances Willard recognized the importance of this event and said in the national convention: "Probably nothing in the world's history has set in motion more or better ideas, looking to the time when men shall learn war no more than the Pan-American Commission and its purpose to unify us all into the Greater America." Publicly she commended President Edward Hicks Magill of Swarthmore College by saying that he was the first educator to introduce the study of peace and arbitration in the schools.[9]

In the department of peace and arbitration, as in those of temperance, suffrage, and purity, the president resorted to that great weapon of the masses—the petition. When the difficulty with Chile arose in 1892, the Union sent a memorial to Congress, asking that the trouble be settled by arbitration. The *Chicago Herald* (January 22, 1892) reported that their recent convention in Boston authorized a memorial to President Harrison that "all differences within our borders or with other nations might be settled by arbitration." It urged particularly that this great nation should not go to war with Chile. At Miss Willard's request, May Wright Sewell, who had succeeded her as president of the National Council of Women, sent a similar protest to President Harrison, asking for peace and arbitration with the pugnacious little republic. The telegrams of these two organizations represented, according to the *Chicago Tribune* (January 22, 1892), about one million women organized in philanthropic, educational, and reform work.

Frances Willard was not unmindful of the need and the importance of welfare work. In 1880 a department was established for

work among the foreign population and Negroes. The West was especially conscious of the immigrant and his peculiar ways. The president in speaking of this department to the Union (1889) declared that over eight hundred papers were printed in the United States in a foreign language and that most of them contained ideas relating to the home, women, temperance, and the Sabbath—ideas that were European and revolutionary, not American or Christian. She added that 26 per cent of the population was either foreign born or of foreign parentage, and she cited this as the reason for repeated temperance defeat. Immigration, temperance, and Sunday laws were related problems. In an endeavor to teach the foreigners "American ways," the Union published a bimonthly paper and about one hundred different kinds of leaflets in foreign languages. But most of this material was printed in German, as they were considered the chief violaters of "American standards."

Other welfare activity included "Evangelistic," "Soldiers and Sailors," "Work among the Lumbermen," "Work in the Jail," and the "Flower Mission." Most of these titles explain the type of work carried on in each particular department, except that of the Flower Mission. This department was established in 1883 and was an especial favorite of the young people. In the summer they gathered flowers from the gardens of their friends, which they tied into nosegays with a Bible verse attached and distributed to the unfortunates in the hospital, the poorhouse, or the jail. This was one of the loveliest, kindliest services ever undertaken by a philanthropic organization. Wagonloads of flowers, fresh with the morning dew, were thus distributed each Sunday. Only one who has seen dull, lifeless eyes brighten at sight of a handful of blossoms could realize the beauty of the flower-mission work. This was a department which old and young alike could enjoy, although for only a few months of the year.

One of the most important phases of welfare work undertaken by the Union was that of the police matron. This position was scarcely if at all known until introduced by the Union in the early eighties. The innovation was tried out in Chicago when one of the W.C.T.U. members realized that women under the law were arrested by men, tried by men, and sentenced by men. She thought these unfortunate women might like to have one of their own sex to speak a friendly word to them in their adversity. With much

skepticism the plan was introduced and soon was recognized as successful even by the politicians. By 1886, Chicago had ten police matrons. The Union at Denver kept up a veritable bombardment of the city council until the office of police matron was created there. In recognition of their excellent effort, the council permitted the Denver Union to make the first appointment. In discussing their progress for the police matron, Miss Willard said, "The point gained in Chicago, the agitation spread to other cities, and success was ours." The Union is credited as being largely responsible for securing appointments of police matrons in nearly all the large cities in the land.[10]

For a number of years Frances Willard had been an educator. She early recognized the need, therefore, of placing the study of temperance in the public schools. In 1880 Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Boston was appointed the superintendent of the scientific temperance instruction department. Within the short span of six years Mrs. Hunt was able to report that twenty-seven states and territories had made the study of scientific temperance compulsory in all their public schools. This number was increased to forty states and territories by 1895. Meanwhile, Congress enacted a law (May 17, 1886) making temperance study mandatory in all schools under federal control, including all territories, military and naval academies at West Point and Annapolis, and all public schools in the District of Columbia. This astounding success in national and state legislative bodies was achieved by use of the petition and group pressure upon legislators. Mothers, of course, eagerly enlisted in this campaign, and the petitions mounted rapidly in each state. Departments were also established for temperance education in the Sunday schools and in many colleges. The remarkable progress of state dry laws during the early part of the twentieth century, which led unmistakably to the Eighteenth Amendment, was no doubt influenced by this school education on temperance.

The president further raised the prestige and effectiveness of the Union by her policy of co-operation with kindred societies. Although she held to keeping the active membership of the Union strictly women, she emphasized the need of winning recognition of such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., the Ministerial Alliance, various synods, and conferences and Sunday-school associations. She made a department for the co-operation with kindred societies.

At the convocation of such societies, the Union delegate always requested an indorsement. Thus the state superintendent for this work in Alabama reported that the Sunday School Convention of the Presbyterian Church of that state had passed resolutions indorsing temperance and the work of the W.C.T.U. The report from Arizona was that the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, and the Sunday-school conventions in that state all passed resolutions approving the W.C.T.U. In California the state superintendent asked approval of the Union from two teachers' institutes, as well as several ecclesiastical bodies, which heartily indorsed them. Georgia reported that they had appealed to and been indorsed by the state Woman's Missionary Society, the Sunday-school convention, teachers' convention, and the local board. By 1889 this department had become one of the most important of the entire thirty-nine and, as Miss Willard expressed it, touched the key of the whole country. During this year the work of the W.C.T.U. was presented for indorsement to teachers' institutes, presbyteries, synods, church conferences, camp meetings, woman's home and foreign missionary societies, Sunday-school conventions, Y.M.C.A.'s, farmers' conventions, Knights of Labor organizations, preachers' meetings, and other church societies. Among the national meetings which received their delegates were the General Conference of the Methodist Church South, national teachers' associations, the Conference of Charities and Corrections, and the American Medical Association.

Such was the scope of the Union under the brilliant leadership of Frances Willard. As national president she built up the organization from a few thousand to over two hundred thousand members and from a few hundred Unions to ten thousand local units. Every state and territory in the United States was organized. She created an atmosphere of glamour at their national conventions which made them the most unique and most publicized woman's conventions of the period. The wide range of activity which she developed created a magnetic association drawing together women of diverse interests. So dynamic was her leadership that, for the eighteen years she was president, Frances Willard was the Union and the Union was Frances Willard.

CHAPTER XII

The West and Suffrage

FROM the beginning Frances Willard envisaged the Union as a great western movement of women. Her first step was to interest them in life beyond the family circle; for, as she expressed it, any work outside of the home was still believed by many good people to be a foreign mission. She saw in the Crusade the rallying of the churchwomen for united action against a social evil. This was the first expression of the conservative womanhood of the nation for concerted activity since their wonderful work in the Civil War a decade earlier. Yet, as the women joined the Union by the thousands, they little realized the wide program of work upon which they were embarking; but they soon became so devoted to Frances Willard that they were willing to follow her to the end of the trail. As one of her followers said, "If Frances Willard should push a plank out into the ocean and should beckon the White Ribbon Army to follow her out to the end of it, they would all go without a question!" Such undaunted confidence in a leader not only lent unity to the organization but permitted her greater freedom of action.

Although education, the professions, and business were fast breaking down the old mores against women, the great mass of conservative women still felt the home to be their province. Frances Willard, therefore, raised her banner for home protection and under its benign aegis recruited a larger army for social reforms than fought in the American Revolution, according to the *Woman's Journal* of October 11, 1879. Her amazing success was a continual puzzle to the suffrage organizations. Some years later when the national convention of the Union was attracting enormous crowds of people this same *Journal* (November 21, 1891) reported one suffrage woman asking another: "Why cannot we have audiences like this at suffrage meetings?" And her astute companion replied,

"Because it is so much easier to see a drunkard than it is to see a principle." This was the keynote of the leadership of Frances Willard; she tied her suffrage-reform program up with the human-interest appeal. The vast majority of women were interested in just two things—their homes and their church. Of all the women-leaders of that period, she alone had the imagination to see that any reform movement which would enlist the women must be associated with these two special institutions. Thus, by making the home the driving appeal of the Union, Frances Willard won the hearts of women everywhere. Contrariwise, Mrs. Stanton continued her unpopular assaults upon the citadel of men and continued to alienate women.

By means of such a stirring and sensational appeal as "For God and Home and Native Land," Frances Willard aroused the women of the nation as never before. Ever the educator, she then sought to develop and mold them as intelligent observers and as participants in the great reform issues of the day. Department after department she organized to keep them interested, busy, and useful. Encouraging them to effort, she said that one of the chief discoveries of the much-lauded nineteenth century was woman's discovery of herself; for to "come to consciousness is even more than to come to power." Frances Willard did more than any other one woman of the century to bring the women of the nation to a consciousness of themselves, to quicken their interests, and to widen their horizons. In speaking to the great International Council of Women which convened for the first time in 1888, she said that the work of the Union in the preceding fourteen years had developed the brain of woman as no schooling ever had done before, had broadened the sympathy of her heart until it took in all humanity, and had educated her until she had become a mighty power.

The great strength of the Union was that it envisioned a broad reform program linked, on the one hand, with the home and, on the other, with the church. By such a method did Frances Willard win to her standard the conservative women of the nation—women who had been deaf to all suffrage pleas and who had been adverse to any public demonstration. This sweeping alignment of women into active service created the largest society in the world composed entirely of women and conducted entirely by women. Local units were established in every state and territory to an estimated ten

thousand Unions. The definite, concise organization of the Union, its well-planned method, and superb leadership gave it power. Frances Willard frequently spoke of the Union as the "White Ribbon Army," which well visualizes its solidarity and well-knit structure. Speaking of the Union before the Woman's Congress at Des Moines (1885), she said: " . . . . It is a military company carefully mustered, officered and drilled. The County Union is but an aggregation of the locals, and the district of the counties while each state is a regiment, and the National itself is womanhood's Grand Army of the Republic."

Upon the safe buoy of home protection, therefore, she broke anchor with tradition and gradually piloted her followers into the broader current of an active, useful life. Suffrage, however, was an important department of the Union and became increasingly so as the eighties progressed. Although she introduced them to the franchise movement by a plea for the temperance ballot, she soon advocated full enfranchisement.

At the national convention in Boston (1880) she secured the indorsement of the Home Protection Ballot. But an equal-suffrage plank was not adopted until 1883. So opposed to her suffrage policy were some of the die-hard conservatives that, when she presented Susan B. Anthony to the Washington convention of 1881, they withdrew from the Union in great indignation.[1] By 1885 the *Union Signal* (June 25) boldly announced that, after state prohibition had been secured, woman's work would not be accomplished until she had also secured the ballot. It was this same year that Frances Willard toured Illinois speaking on "Equal Suffrage and Home Protection."[2] A few years later, according to the *New Era* of Springfield, Ohio (February 26, 1892), she took an even more advanced position by declaring for a woman president and named Mary Livermore as a likely candidate who, she felt, would govern the country as well as George Washington or any other man.

The technique Miss Willard used in winning the white-ribbon women to suffrage included the sending-out of speakers, the distribution of printed material, newspaper publicity, use of the petition, and pressure. Much of the suffrage work was carried on through the national superintendent of this department. She was fortunate in securing exceptionally able women to lead this department. The first national superintendent was Zerelda Wallace,

wife of former Governor Wallace of Indiana and the beloved stepmother of Lew Wallace, famous author of *Ben Hur*. Her ability and prestige made the suffrage department of the Union one of its most important salients on the reform front. When she turned over the office to Dr. Anna Shaw, who had been her understudy, she wrote (Janury 30, 1888) a final word of admonition:

> By the way let me suggest that you send a petition to Congress in your official capacity; signed by all the national officers of the W.C.T.U. praying for such an amendment. Impress upon the women everywhere the importance of writing personal letters to their Congressmen asking them to support a 16th amendment forbidding the disfranchisement of any citizen on the ground of sex. Miss Anthony is very sanguine that with the prestige of the Council that we may do much this Congress. I am not so hopeful. But it will come: it is only a question of time. Why should it not—it is necessary for the triumph of God's law for human progress.
>
> I believe if our women would take hold of this department with the generosity and zeal which its importance demands as they have done scientific instruction and other departments that we might go in and possess the land right speedily. If we had the money to send speakers through the South who could go independently without any reference to compensation much good could be done. The South is not half so far behind as the North was when the agitation first commenced.

It was not long before the Suffrage Association adopted the new superintendent, but not until Dr. Shaw had done excellent service in the franchise department both of the Illinois state Union and of the national Union. The brilliant work of Dr. Shaw in suffrage under the banner of the W.C.T.U. made her a national leader by the turn of the century. From 1904 to 1915 she eloquently headed the suffrage forces as president of the National Suffrage Association.

With such leaders as these the zealous president made suffrage popular. A striking demonstration of this was seen at the Denver convention (1892), when Frances Willard introduced Anna Shaw, who by that time had transferred her allegiance to the Suffrage Association. At the conclusion of Dr. Shaw's speech the convention rose as one body saluting her with resounding applause and with the waving of a thousand handkerchiefs. When the shouting had subsided, Frances Willard did the kind of thing which always endeared her to the white-ribbon women. Stepping to the front of the platform, she said: "Shoo, ladies; this is different from what it was

in Washington in 1881 when you refused to let me have Miss Anthony on my platform. Things are coming around, girls."[3] By her charm, tact, and wit she ever cajoled her faithful legion.

This change in suffrage sentiment of the Union from the early days to their later enthusiastic support of it bespeaks the dramatic leadership of Frances Willard. The *Woman's Journal* (April 2, 1892) commented upon this spectacular coup by recounting that in 1878 the Union voted against suffrage, but in 1879 it chose Frances Willard president and in 1880 declared for woman's ballot. Since that time she had attracted 200,000 devoted followers, who were working for the political and legal equality of women.

Mrs. Zerelda Wallace, while national superintendent of franchise, testified at the meeting in 1885 that she could well remember a few years previous when the suffrage question had well-nigh divided the Union but that it had now found favor among most of their members. Hundreds of thousands of women, she estimated, had been awakened to their civic responsibility, "For God and Home and Native Land," who would never otherwise have been interested in suffrage. After Dr. Anna Shaw became national superintendent of suffrage she stated that never had the outlook of the suffrage department been so hopeful or inspiring. Mary Livermore wrote (July 5, 1888) to Frances Willard that she was "unspeakably glad and grateful for the noble position you have taken on the woman question, in all its phases, that I lack the correct language to express myself." Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in their memorial work, *The History of Woman Suffrage*, said there were no more active workers for suffrage than the women of the Union!

Frances Willard's dynamic interest in suffrage encouraged the local Unions to emphasize this department. The Illinois Union, more directly under her influence, led the way. It will be remembered that it was her own state Union that first gave the needed support for the "temperance-ballot" during the critical year of 1878. The clear stand of the state on the suffrage issue is well presented by Frances Willard in the following excerpt, which was in reply to a request from the president of the Illinois State Temperance Alliance asking indorsement.

DEAR BROTHER:

The Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union bids you Godspeed in your noble work of organization, and will heartily co-operate

with you, on one explicit condition, which we are sure you will cordially accept, namely: That the Home Protection work to which we are unalterably committed shall be the political work toward which the Alliance shall direct its concentrated energies. Other states are working for constitutional amendments securing prohibition but in Illinois we work for the adoption of the Hinds Bill; and secondly for a constitutional amendment giving the ballot to women.[4]

Definitely and without equivocation Frances Willard placed suffrage before prohibition. What she actually said was that in Illinois the Union works for the temperance-ballot first and full state enfranchisement second. This policy was again emphasized in 1882 when the Illinois Suffrage Association convened at Watseka. The Illinois W.C.T.U. sent them cordial greetings, saying that the state Union was working side by side with them for the franchise.[5]

By 1884 the Illinois Union swung behind all-out suffrage. Their declared policy was to work for an amendment to the state constitution for enfranchisement but, in case of failure in this, to ask for municipal suffrage. Upon the urgent request of the Illinois Suffrage Association the state Union co-operated with them on a campaign for municipal suffrage. It was also in 1884 that Mary Bannister Willard, Frances' sister-in-law, who at this time was the superintendent of franchise for the Illinois Union, said that, although for the past three years she had adhered to the ballot as a means to temperance, she had now come to believe in the ballot on the ground of justice. Likewise many other members who had first rallied to Frances Willard's plea for home protection followed her to the more advanced position. Wisely, she always led "her army" by degrees. Had she announced in 1876 for full suffrage, the entire Union would have been alienated. Then she only asked for their support on the temperance ballot—a most reasonable suggestion! But once the Union declared for this, she advanced to equal rights, and by the time the Union again caught up with her, she was declaring for a woman president.

In 1885 Mary Bannister Willard led the women of Illinois in a campaign for a constitutional amendment to secure the full enfranchisement. The amendment proposed that "no limitation shall at any time be put upon the exercise of the elective franchise in this state by reason of sex."[6] The proposed amendment was defeated, whereupon the women introduced a few weeks later a bill to give women

the vote in school, city, and other municipal elections. Mary E. Haggart, now president of the Illinois Union, appeared before the legislature to speak on behalf of this measure. She reaffirmed the right of suffrage as a God-given one not to be set aside by human laws. Stating the views of the Union she declared that women were either citizens or not, and if not citizens then they should be treated as such and not required to pay taxes. The Illinois women, however, were not discouraged by defeat and only redoubled their efforts. Their example was followed by other state Unions. By 1888 the national franchise department reported that there had never been such an awakening of women in the Union for the suffrage cause and a year later declared that it was their leading department.

The Massachusetts Union had also early adopted the suffrage program. Mary Livermore was state president of the Union in the seventies and about the same time was also the president of the American Suffrage Association. Further, she was a close friend of Frances Willard. The work of the Massachusetts Union for suffrage, therefore, went forward rapidly. Their achievement was so significant that Lucy Stone took public recognition of it in the editorial column of the *Woman's Journal* (October 11, 1879). She recounted how the Union had organized one hundred meetings throughout the state for the purpose of urging women to work for school suffrage "as a help to liquor suffrage." The work of Mary Livermore and the state Union, she declared, had permeated all through Massachusetts and aroused women to the need of the ballot.

Iowa, too, emphasized this department. This had been one of that handful of states which had supported Frances Willard at the national convention when she was making her courageous suffrage fight in the seventies. The Iowa report of 1883 stated that, although the day had not long passed when many members were loathe to mention suffrage, the West had been broadening its influences and now they stood committeed for full suffrage. They sought complete enfranchisement the report said, as a protection of their homes against liquor and other vices, the enforcement of the Sunday laws, and influence in school ballot.[7] So enthusiastic had their work for suffrage become that one of the members reported through the *Woman's Journal* (October 27, 1883) that they were making suffrage the main line of attack and that within a year she believed they would be a "working suffrage society."

Indiana early supported Frances Willard's suffrage program. Mrs. Zerelda Wallace led the suffrage fight in her state. She was president of the state Union for a number of years and also, it will be remembered, national superintendent of franchise of the Union from 1880 to 1887. In this capacity she won a national reputation as a suffrage speaker and in later years was claimed by the Suffrage Association, even as was Anna Shaw. Mrs. Wallace declared to the Union (1884) that the most important work they had done in Indiana, as far as public enlightenment was concerned, was their petition for presidential suffrage. The Indiana Union made the franchise department one of their most active and important departments. Toward the end of the century the W.C.T.U. of Indiana sponsored a campaign for submission to the voters of a state woman's suffrage amendment. Petitions were circulated by them in every township of the state.[8]

In the annual meeting of the national Union in 1891 the president urged a special drive for suffrage in the ensuing year. She asked that as a distinctive W.C.T.U. measure a bill be introduced in each House of Congress providing for a constitutional amendment giving women the privilege of suffrage equal with men. She also urged the women to press for school and municipal suffrage locally. And in those states having a legislative session that winter she stressed the use of petition for full enfranchisement.

Probably because of the concerted drive of 1891, Nebraska also lined up in the suffrage column of the Union. A member of the Fremont Union wrote to the *Woman's Journal* (January 14, 1890) that "the school elections are conducted under the auspices of our Union. The women of Fremont are educated up to the point of going to the polls, and are ready for full suffrage." The same issue of the *Woman's Journal* declared that the state W.C.T.U. of Massachusetts, Maine, Nebraska, and Illinois were all asking that year again for municipal suffrage.

The Unions of both North and South Dakota had a strong suffrage department. The women of North Dakota were especially active and won the school ballot in 1889. With this instrument of power they proceeded to elect ten women as county superintendents of schools. But the following year the annual report of the North Dakota Union (1891) announced the introduction and passage of an equal-suffrage bill in the legislature. Not resting on victories won,

the women of North Dakota secured the nomination and election of a woman for state superintendent of public instruction.

In 1890 the great struggle for suffrage was carried on in South Dakota, and the Union sponsored the campaign. Although an Equal Suffrage Association was organized here, the president of the South Dakota W.C.T.U., who was also a suffrage worker, wrote an open letter through the *Woman's Tribune* (January 14, 1890), with the consent of Frances Willard, to the women of the Union asking for their support. A letter from Susan B. Anthony to Frances Willard (March 21, 1890) further revealed how desperately inadequate the suffrage women were to carry on alone such a simple campaign as this one in South Dakota even though by 1890 both suffrage associations had united.

About South Dakota and what the National W.C.T.U. will do—and what the National-American Woman Suffrage Association will do to help carry suffrage there next November.

When I closed my "sweep around the circle" at the annual meeting of the Farmer's Alliance at Aberdeen, the 27th last November—I was present at their E.S.A. Executive meeting—at which I presented a plan for winter work by the Home people—that is, that Mrs. Barker as W.C.T.U. president should cause her district presidents to cause each of her county presidents to call local W.C.T.U. meetings in her respective county—and there urge that the franchise spoke in their wheel shall be worked as the main one—and that more locals should appoint delegates to go up to an Equal Suffrage Convention at the County seat and there organize a county association for the suffrage campaign—and from that point on—all should pull together as a suffrage band to the end of the campaign.

Our suffrage association in its canvass must know no democrat, no republican, no prohibitionist, no science man—high or low. We must know nothing but woman suffrage—else we might as well never spend a dollar in South Dakota.

Now, my dear, what I want of you as Pres. of the National W.C.T.U. is—to rouse the members of your national—all of your state and local unions so that they will at once send speakers and money to S.D. to help that state W.C.T.U. to work the franchise spoke or its franchise department for all it is worth from top to bottom.

The people are now so poor that they can't move—I am told every W.C.T.U. is in debt and can't move. So if they want to help carry the election your National must help them financially. Now can you, will you send them money—not yours personally—but the Union's generally.

By the early eighties, Elizabeth Cady Stanton began to spend more and more time in England with her married daughter. She and Susan Anthony drifted somewhat apart during the later years of the century. Conversely, Susan Anthony and Frances Willard became increasingly good friends. The eighties, moreover, show a marked moderation in Miss Anthony's policy of amendment and a willingness to adopt the state-by-state method.

The pyramidal organization of the Union from local unit to national federation was the greatest blessing the suffrage women had encountered during the century. Few indeed were the suffrage organizations that could be counted upon to launch or carry forward a campaign. They could boast of no strategist within their ranks capable of creating an organization such as Frances Willard had created for the Union. Thus the Union frequently co-operated with the suffrage leaders to project an organized attack upon the legislature. It was the Union that had the machinery.

More frequently, however, the state Unions carried on their own attack for suffrage in their own name under their own leadership. In many states the suffrage women were so few that the only real suffrage work was carried on by the Union. This was true in California. One writer said that, properly speaking, the woman's movement of southern California was a W.C.T.U. movement.[9] The report of the California Union (1896) stated that much of the time and energy of their ablest women was devoted to this department. The Union of Arizona also worked with the utmost diligence for enfranchisement and was well rewarded, as indicated by the following telegram (Tuscon, Arizona, March 4, 1891) to Frances Willard from Mrs. L. C. Hughs, president of the Arizona W.C.T.U.: "Wire congratulations to legislative council, Phoenix, Arizona. Legislature passed suffrage bill today only two opposed."

In Colorado the Union and the Equal Suffrage Association joined forces in 1890 in petitioning the legislature for the equal ballot. The Colorado Union, however, had long been committed to woman suffrage, according to the *Woman's Journal* (October 18, 1890), and had been in the field for this reform many years before the Equal Suffrage Association had ever been organized in that state. Likewise, in 1894, when the suffrage issue was up in New York for constitutional amendment, the suffrage women and the W.C.T.U.

worked side by side in piling up petitions and in holding mass meetings.[10]

Such, in fact, was the history of woman suffrage in state after state. Frances Willard, furthermore, encouraged the work of the state and local Unions for suffrage by sending out national speakers. Among these was Dr. Anna Shaw, whose far-flung campaign for the franchise was continually heralded in the press. The *Woman's Journal* (January 11, 1890) reported that "Dr. Anna H. Shaw, National superintendent of franchise for the W.C.T.U. has lecture engagements within the next few weeks in six states and in Canada." Mrs. Zerelda Wallace was also a noted lecturer for the Union on suffrage and was given cordial recognition by the press. Mrs. Katherine L. Stevenson, state superintendent of franchise for the Massachusetts W.C.T.U., spoke in the East both to the Union and to suffrage leagues. Mrs. Mary E. Haggart, former president of the Illinois Union and later a resident of California, also spoke on suffrage for the Union. Thus a definite suffrage campaign was continually waged both locally and nationally by this major-ranking department of the Union. As Anna Shaw said before the national convention in 1888, "Everybody knows that suffrage is the leading department of this organization."

Frances was herself a great influence as a suffrage speaker and made countless appearances for the cause. A letter (December 1, 1881) from Lucy Stone entreating her to speak in the interest of municipal suffrage for women in Massachusetts indicates how early was recognized her worth as a suffrage speaker. A decade later another letter (March 4, 1889) from the same writer emphasizes the recognition accorded Miss Willard as the leader of women and a matchless speaker for suffrage:

> On this day when the men inaugurated their president, we here, the Ex. Com. of the New England Woman Suffrage Association by a maximum vote extend to you an invitation to attend the New England Woman Suffrage Festival on the Evening of May 29th for a short speech and we also want you for a larger speech on Tuesday Evening the 28th on woman suffrage for temperance or for any phase of the work you choose. I know you are to be invited here by another association for that week, so one giving will cover both. At what price can you come for us?
>
> I put the Festival first in our invitation to you because that is a great occasion. We have short speeches and music and a lively time. Last year

we had Clara Barton, Mrs. Scathered and the foreign delegates who attended the International Council and Fred Douglas. This year we are asking you and Geo. W. Cooke, Ex-Governor John D. Long, Senator Reed of Maine, John G. Whittier and others. We shall have a good time and we want to make it useful too. Pray let us know if you will come and at what price in addition to your expenses. And greatly oblige.

Despite all the propaganda and all the publicity, the really effective means of achieving suffrage was the vote. The legislators held the power; the activities of press and platform merely molded public opinion. But this was not enough. To secure action, Frances Willard the politician knew that the instruments of petition and pressure must be used. Although committed to work for the franchise through the state legislatures, which the Union was organized to do so effectively, she did occasionally co-operate with Susan B. Anthony for a national campaign. In the early eighties she had sent to every member of Congress a petition signed by herself and all the national officers which asked for a sixteenth amendment. This was the Anthony amendment, which finally was passed in 1920 as the Nineteenth Amendment. In 1887 she sponsored a petition of two hundred thousand signatures of the W.C.T.U. asking Congress for suffrage. This petition was presented to the upper House by Senator Blair and led to the creation of the Senate Committee on Suffrage, which conducted hearings in April, 1888. Susan B. Anthony was the generalissimo of the hearings in so far as arranging for the witnesses was concerned. She introduced Frances Willard in these unique words: "Gentlemen of the Committee, Here stands before you one who is commander-in-chief of an army of 250,000 women. It is said women do not want to vote, but this woman has led this vast army to the ballot box, or to a wish to get there. I present Frances E. Willard."[11] Miss Willard made such an impressive speech before the committee that Susan Anthony decided therewith to close the hearings.

The suffrage women had lacked the mechanics of organization under the direction of the Stanton-Anthony clique. The National Suffrage Association believed in bending all their efforts toward a federal amendment. In addition, they had no organization for state prosecution of the work. The American Suffrage Association under the wiser guidance of Lucy Stone and Mary Livermore sought suffrage through municipal and state agitation. Frances Willard was

a member of the American Suffrage Association and an associate editor of their paper, the *Woman's Journal*. Thus her views on local campaigns for suffrage coincided with those of her suffrage colleagues. At the same time she was quite friendly with Susan B. Anthony and helped her whenever she could. Her policy was to co-operate with the suffrage women as often as possible, but especially with the American Suffrage Association.

The success of carrying forward both temperance and suffrage as state issues warranted the faith Frances Willard placed in this method. Even Susan B. Anthony, who had always maintained that the only goal was federal amendment, came around to this viewpoint by 1886.[12] Between 1878 and 1896 the suffrage committee in the Senate reported a constitutional amendment favorably four times, and the corresponding committee in the House twice; but action went no further. While a small ineffective minority of women carried on this fruitless effort to secure federal amendment, women of the Union were winning the school ballot or the municipal ballot or both in state after state. Every such gain they made in the local territory was added leverage for a constitutional amendment when the time was ripe.

Although working strenuously for state and municipal suffrage, Frances Willard's ever ready help to Susan Anthony for a federal amendment sometimes brought a clash with Lucy Stone of the American Suffrage Association. A letter, dated November 18, 1886, from her to Frances Willard clearly presents the issue of national versus state enfranchisement:

I saw your recommendation of a 16th amendment. Now there is no doubt that the agitation for a 16th amendment is good as a means to education. But if it passed Congress no woman could vote until it had been adopted by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the states.

But if, without a 16th amendment, any state of its own motion amends its constitution, so that women could vote, the women of that state would be at once enfranchised, and could vote whether the other $\frac{3}{4}$ of them, or any of them had amended their constitutions. They would not have to wait for $\frac{3}{4}$ of the others. Besides congressmen will hardly be up to voting for a 16th amendment so long as the state they represent refuses even municipal suffrage. Get this measure as a state amendment and the member of Congress whose state has done this, will have courage to vote for a 16th amendment.

Note. With a 16th no woman can vote in any state till $\frac{3}{4}$ of all the

states have accepted it. While under a simple state amendment they could vote at once. We rejoice all the day long in the growth of the franchise idea in the W.C.T.U.

Although Frances Willard occasionally crossed "party lines," she was definitely committed to the method of state suffrage.

The real force of the woman's movement was in the West. Here ideas were less rigid, less set. The fresh, invigorating influence of the frontier was still permeating western life. Even more important were the schools and colleges dotting the prairies which were open to women. Thousands of women had entered the teaching profession after 1850, and this created a leaven of progressive sentiment among their sex. The West also was the cradle of such new political parties as the Republican party, the farmers' alliances, the Grange, and the Prohibition party. In the latter three parties women were admitted to membership, and the parties recognized their demands for the franchise. Taking advantage of all these fortuitous circumstances, Frances Willard created the great western movement of women whose underlying influence we are still witnessing. Had the suffrage women secured a constitutional amendment after the Civil War, the place women today occupy in business and professional life would be far more limited. Instead, enfranchisement followed an awakening of women in all pursuits, which laid a broad foundation for advancement. In no other country, save perhaps the British Dominions and Soviet Russia, do women enjoy the privileges they do in America, although many lands have given women the ballot. The difference would seem to be chiefly that in no other country was there a surging-forth of energy in social betterment and education as an undercurrent of the suffrage movement.

Frances Willard aroused women to their opportunities and urged them to take part in the social and political issues of the day, urged them to a life of usefulness. She upbraided them for not reading the newspapers and keeping in touch with current questions. Such progressive writers of the day as Henry George and Edward Bellamy she recommended to their careful reading. Speaking before a suffrage meeting in Boston, Frances Willard said (*Woman's Journal*, December 8, 1894):

> Today you cannot tell the yellow ribbon [suffrage] from the white. It was not so when I began to speak. The W.C.T.U. deserves credit for enlisting in the suffrage movement that important person, the average wom-

an. The average woman . . . . says, "I have all the rights I want" and she thinks that is the end of the controversy, while we know it is only the beginning. She has not read John Stuart Mill or Frances Power Cobbe, and she does not take the *Woman's Journal*. But you can make an impression upon her by bringing before her a practical question. She does not want to vote, but if she could be made to think it her duty to want to, she would consider it. When the average woman wants it, the broad shouldered, good-natured average man will give it.

The average woman did not want the vote until her social consciousness was stirred, and she could be stirred only by problems which related to her own experience. Nor could any appreciable number of women be expected to follow a movement not indorsed by the great arbiter of public opinion, the church.

The national conventions of the Union were usually held in a church. Furthermore, national conventions were always held so as to include one Sunday, at which time many of their more prominent women were invited to occupy the pulpits of churches in the community. This was a remarkable step. Before the Civil War the churches were almost unanimous in declaring against women on the platform, and they had continuously opposed the suffrage women. But once a year, in whatever city the Union was convening, the most important churches were thrown open to the women. Men and women in the local community, therefore, heard women declaim from the pulpit of their own churches. The recognition of women in this fashion did much to make the Union acceptable to women and men alike. Many men who had never before heard a woman speak in public were pleasantly surprised. Frances Willard looked upon these church services conducted once a year by her women as a magnificent opportunity to break down old barriers. The church was indeed a solvent of the long ostracism leveled against liberal-minded women, although in the earlier years of the century it had been the stronghold of opposition to women. The church had not especially changed in its general views regarding woman's new position, but it was committed to temperance. This was the liaison between the Union and the church. As the *Woman's Journal* (April 2, 1892) commented, it was Frances Willard's mission to bridge the chasm which separated the women of the churches from the suffrage cause. How well she succeeded is told in the fol-

lowing excerpt from the *St. Louis State Democrat* (November 16, 1896):

> Women preached in nearly a hundred churches in St. Louis yesterday. All denominations nearly opened their doors to lecturing members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The spectacle thus presented was no less memorable than impressive, marking as it does an era in religious liberality.
>
> Forty years since, when Mrs. Antoinette Blackwell Brown of Orange, New Jersey startled the ecclesiastic world by becoming ordained as a minister, the presence of 100 women in as many pulpits of one town would have been impossible. Thirty and even twenty years ago it would have been superlatively improbable. Ten years ago, if the people of St. Louis were to have been informed that five scores of women had arranged to deliver sermons at different local churches on the following Sabbath, the community would have discussed the event for weeks.
>
> But yesterday thousands of religious devotees heard the words of wisdom that flowed from the female hierophants of Christ, and listened much more than they marvelled.

Western women, liberal as they were, felt definitely opposed to the eastern suffrage leaders. One western newspaper commented that Idaho, which had just given women full suffrage, had been won, as Colorado was won, by western methods, while California and Kansas had been lost because of eastern methods. This paper accused the eastern suffrage women of collecting rather large fees for their "blundering interference." A few years later no less a leader than Carrie Chapman Catt warned that the West would not submit to the program of the eastern suffrage leaders.[13]

Susan Anthony met with sharp criticism in the West also on the ground that she knew nothing but suffrage and was in no way concerned about such sectional problems as finance, tariff, and free silver. None of these suffrage leaders understood the West, and therefore they frequently antagonized even the most liberal men and women northwest of the Ohio. On the other hand, Frances Willard had grown up on the Wisconsin prairie, her father had been a Free Soiler, which introduced her to western radicalism, and she was conversant with western labor and financial problems. She thought as her neighbors and friends thought—there was no gulf which separated her from the problem of the frontier. Furthermore, her active participation in politics brought her into close re-

lationship with the farmers' alliances, the Grange, the Knights of Labor, and the other western political parties. Suffrage to Frances Willard was no isolated issue but one tied up with western thought, with social injustice, and with a broad liberating movement for women in other than political fields. As Henry Blackwell said, "Miss Willard has marshalled the womanhood of America in support of temperance, social purity, and home protection."

Lucy Stone had stated that the outstanding objection to woman suffrage was that the home was the province of women and that if they attended to that there would be no time for anything else. Frances Willard was the one woman of the century who was able to span this difference. Instead of the "home being the chief objection to woman suffrage," she made it the most important reason for woman suffrage, under the clever shibboleth of "home protection."

Thus Frances Willard envisaged a woman's movement broader than temperance or suffrage and having as its objective useful womanhood. The *Seattle Daily Times* (October 20, 1899) stated that she created a fighting battalion of some 250,000 women, who presented suffrage and temperance petitions in every state and territory in the United States. Five million pages of suffrage literature alone were distributed annually by the Union.[14] By 1900 the status of woman suffrage was as follows: full franchise in four states and partial suffrage in twenty-one states. Out of this total of twenty-five, only four were eastern states. Frances Willard lifted suffrage out of the bog of public contempt and opprobrium into which the eastern leaders had guilelessly steered it. She secured the approbation of the church, which lent prestige to her organization and which aided in making it the largest society of women in the land. She led her cohorts out of the wilderness of indifference into the promised land of opportunities, usefulness, and exhilarating activity. Through her effort, said Alice Stone Blackwell (*Woman's Journal*, March 5, 1898), thousands upon thousands of men and women have been educated up to the level of women suffrage. But it is significant that this achievement was attained by arousing the average woman first to social consciousness.

CHAPTER XIII

Gospel Politics

NO PART of Frances Willard's program for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union aroused so much criticism as her alliance with politics. Yet this activity was a natural development of her temperament as well as the logical sequence of her Do-Everything Policy. As a child her interest in politics was aroused by the discussions of her father and brother over the political campaigns of the day. After her father became a candidate for office she found excitement in every campaign. Thus, as the family sat around the fire on cold winter evenings discussing political problems, she became well acquainted with party politics, especially politics of the Republican brand. In later years she was as deeply interested as her father and brother in the campaign of Abraham Lincoln. Both of them attended the riotous nominating convention of 1860 which met in the Wigwam, and they faithfully reported the proceedings to the home circle. Frances was so eager for "Honest Abe" to win the presidency that she became more than ever resentful over denial of the ballot to women. She was teaching at Kankakee during that momentous autumn and wrote this entry in her diary on November 7: "Lincoln is elected President of the United States. Hurrah! Under the present system I was not allowed to vote for him, but I am as glad on account of this Republican triumph as any man who has exercised the elective franchise can be."

Her long yearning for participation in politics was well expressed in one of her speeches before the International Council of Women (1888), when she said: "I don't know that it will make me stand any better with the ladies of the audience, and certainly it won't with the gentlemen, I suppose, but honestly, I always thought that next to a wish I had to be a saint some day, I really would like to be a politician."

The glittering publicity of politics, furthermore, appealed to her love of the dramatic. Repressed as a child, she longed to capture

public attention. With that charming candor which won her such a host of admirers, she often stated that she yearned to be widely known and loved. "Ambition has been the inmost compelling force of my personality," she frankly declared. She even confessed to a dislike for that well-known hymn in which are the lines:

> Make me little and unknown
> Loved and prized by God alone.

Frances Willard had no intention of being loved by God alone—she craved the adoration of a larger public. The political arena she considered as an excellent opportunity for her abilities, as well as the golden steps to power. One of her father's favorite sayings had been that one must have the victory in him to succeed. From the time Frances went to Europe she had felt the victory in her, felt she would climb the heights to glory. Disdaining any thought of failure, she steadfastly turned her gaze starward. Always confident of success, she was certain of winning laurels even in this field of chance.

The Union provided Frances Willard excellent opportunity for the expression of her inbred political interest. The many petitions and memorials that she sponsored to legislative bodies offered a stepping stone to real politics. She began such presentations as early as 1874 when she was president of the Chicago Union by sending an address to the Chicago Board of Commissioners, according to the *Chicago Tribune* (October 27, 1874), asking that polling places in saloons be changed to more suitable places. From this small beginning she soon learned the tricks of lobbying and the bypaths of political influence. Her real initiation into politics, however, was in 1879, when she presented the great petition bearing 180,000 names to the Illinois legislature.

The liquor interests had organized for political combat after the government established the liquor tax in 1862. Although the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was an influential organization, it lacked the power of ballots. Something, therefore, was to be said for an alliance with a political party which could reinforce its influence by practical votes. In 1880 Frances Willard openly declared for James Garfield as her presidential candidate, although the Prohibition party had nominated Neal Dow, the grand old man of temperance, as their candidate for the high office. She had secured a pledge from Garfield to support both prohibition and woman

suffrage. At election time she wrote her mother, "We are rejoicing over Garfield"; but six months later she was planning a new party. To her disappointment and chagrin she discovered Garfield was a different man after election than before, and she was deeply hurt by his repudiation of promises.

In the summer of 1881 Frances Willard attended the national temperance convention at Saratoga, New York. There she met for the first time James G. Birney and James Black, men whom she had long known only by name. Still smarting from Garfield's broken promise, she was swept off her feet by the generous welcome given her by these notable leaders. Long hours of the night she puzzled over the problem of a political alliance with the Prohibition party, for she knew many people both within and without the Union would criticize such action. Finally she made her great decision "in a feeling of exaltation and triumph."[1]

The National Prohibition party was organized in 1869 by the Grand Lodge of Good Templars. It early indorsed woman suffrage but after the Crusade of 1874 gave even further support and sympathy to the woman's cause. The Prohibition party during the seventies, however, failed to enlist much support, and, as has been stated, even the Union gave their backing in 1880 to the Republican Garfield. After the poor showing of the Prohibition party in the campaign of 1880, it was generally conceded that the party would have to be reorganized. While the national temperance convention at Saratoga was not a political meeting, being only the annual convocation of the society, yet the leaders of the Prohibition party were all there. Welcoming the fresh support which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union could give them, they encouraged Frances Willard to throw in her lot with them. A few weeks after the Saratoga convention she called a temperance convocation at Lake Bluff, a summer camp about thirty miles north of Chicago. Here mingled some of her staunch friends of the Union and such leaders of the party as John St. John of Kansas, George W. Bain of Kentucky, and John B. Finch of Nebraska. The result was that Frances Willard organized at this time the expedient called the "Home Protection party."[2] This independent party was to serve two purposes: (1) to feel out the sentiment of the national Union at their forthcoming convention that autumn and (2) to be used as leverage on the Prohibition party when next they convened. The

Illinois W.C.T.U. met at Lake Bluff immediately after the temperance convocation. Just as in earlier days she had first secured the indorsement of the Illinois Union for suffrage, so now she appealed first to the same group for support of the Home Protection party.

With their loyal approval, a large section of her annual address (1881) to the Union some months later was devoted to introducing the Home Protection party. She cited the fact that a year before they had hailed Garfield's election as answered prayer. But his duplicity had chagrined and stunned them. After having spent some months in the South, she told the women that she believed they, too, were ready for a new party, one that should wipe out the Mason-Dixon line and give a "really re-united States." But, she hastened to add, this party could not bear either the name of the Republican or Democratic party and that preliminary action had been taken several months previously when the Illinois Union had indorsed the new party. Then she read to them the statement so recently accepted by the Illinois Union:

> We recommend that looking to the composition of the next Legislature, we request and aid the Home Protection Party to put in nomination in each district a Home Protection candidate committed not more by his specific promise than by his well-known character to vote for the submission of a constitutional amendment giving the full ballot to the women of Illinois as a means of protection to their homes.

She explained that the new policy was adopted because of the fact that for seven years they had patiently appealed to the existing parties for support only to be ignored. Now they had decided to appeal to the manhood of the state of Illinois in the name of God and Home and Native Land! Several other state Unions, she announced, had wheeled into line along with Illinois in indorsing this party—Maine, New Hampshire, and Delaware. Miss Willard then predicted that soon this new party of "great moral ideas" would hold the balance of power. Despite her moving eloquence, most of the women were rather cool to her suggestion of such an out-and-out participation in politics. But the idea had been forcefully presented, and, like her idea on woman suffrage, she expected it to germinate with time.

On August 23, 1882, the scheduled meetings of the National Prohibition party and the Home Protection party met in Chicago. As had been planned, a fusion of the two parties was effected, but

Frances Willard adroitly managed the adoption of her favorite name, "Home Protection" for the party, making it the "Prohibition Home Protection party." Many members of the Prohibition party objected to this but fell into line under pressure that otherwise she would not unite her party with theirs. She had insisted on keeping the title Home Protection because by such means she hoped to make politics sound sweeter to the women of the Union. Gideon T. Stewart of Ohio was elected chairman of the national committee, and Frances Willard was given a place on the executive committee.[3] The new party—the Prohibition Home Protection party—agreed to support woman suffrage actively and include it in their platform. All that remained for Frances Willard to do was to swing the Union alongside her party. This she gallantly attempted when the national convention met in October, 1882, at Louisville.

In her address before the Louisville convention Miss Willard called the Prohibition party an answer to woman's prayer. Since the party convention of the preceding August (1881), she said, every state convention of the W.C.T.U. to which the question was presented had adopted resolutions in favor of the party. She ended her political appeal by the plea: "The right is always expedient, therefore I call to you once more, sisters beloved, let us go forward."

The political alliance, however, was still coldly received. Defeat was imminent. Finally, in a shrewd maneuver to secure some indorsement of her action, she persuaded her old friend, Mrs. L. D. Carhart, then president of the Iowa Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to submit the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That we rejoice in the day that gives recognition to our prohibition principles by political partisans and we will endeavor to influence the best men in all communities to commit themselves to that party by whatever name called that shall give to them the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes.

As Frances Willard expected, the convention readily accepted this sugar-coated resolution, inasmuch as no political party was named. It was an honorable compromise, for no political party other than the Prohibition Home Protection party would include in its platform a prohibition-suffrage plank.

Shortly after this convention Frances Willard with her ever faithful Anna set out across the continent on their memorable roundup, which she concluded before the national convention met the fol-

lowing October (1883). As an election year was now in the offing, she must perforce secure more sympathetic support for the Prohibition Home Protection party than heretofore. Her successful continental tour helped to put the convention into a malleable mood. Her own enthusiastic spirit was infectious. Thus with the plaudits of her continental tour still resounding, she hoped to commit the Union to politics. Recounting the fallacy of "high license" and pointing out the need for political action, she sponsored another of those adroit resolutions which meant more than was casually apparent. It read:

> *Resolved*, That we lend our influence to that party by whatever name called which shall furnish the best embodiment of prohibition principles and will most surely protect our homes.
>
> *Resolved*, That effort be made to secure in each state and territory, nonpartisan prohibition conventions of men and women before the party nominating conventions of 1884 are held. At such conventions efforts shall be made to unite electors in declarations that they will vote with no party that has not prohibition in its platform.

This resolution was further implemented by a motion to present a memorial to the four party conventions, asking their inclusion of a prohibition plank, and this task was assigned to Frances Willard. Accordingly, she presented a petition to the Republican party, the Democratic party, the Greenback party, and the Prohibition party. Her reception by the Republicans was little short of insulting, for, as Allen Nevine reports, "they painfully humiliated the temperance forces."[4] The Prohibitionists, needless to say, accorded her the most cordial welcome.

Meanwhile, Frances Willard took a conspicuous part in the national convention of the Prohibition Home Protection party, which convened in Pittsburgh, July 23, 1884. As a member of the executive committee, she was asked to make the first seconding speech for the popular presidential candidate, John St. John of Kansas. When the roll call of the convention revealed a unanimous vote for St. John, the convention went wild with enthusiasm. Frances Willard was a member of the resolutions committee, and she therefore wrote the suffrage plank of their 1884 platform, which after a brief debate was adopted. Hard as she struggled to maintain "Home Protection" in the party's name, the masculine element voted in 1884 to resume the traditional title of the "National Prohibition party."

JOHN P. ST. JOHN. OFFICE OF I. O. PICKERING.

ST. JOHN & PICKERING.

Olathe, Kas., June 7th 1884.

Dear Miss Willard

Yours of the 5th inst rec'd I regard the action of the Chicago Convention as an insult to every Prohibitionist in the land. Yes. I have enlisted "for the war" I would rather die for Principle than live for Policy-

Yours for the Home against the Saloon.

John P. St John

Miss Frances E. Willard
Chicago Ill.

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LETTER FROM JOHN ST. JOHN

As Frances Willard had foreseen, the Prohibition party was the only one to give the women the full measure of support that they desired. Hence the mild resolution she had enticed the Union to indorse was, in effect, a partisan commitment. When this became apparent to the women, some of them showed dissatisfaction, which broke loose in the national convention of 1884, held just before the election of that year. Their newly committed political stand was unfavorably emphasized in the press when the Methodist church where they were to hold their meetings refused it to them at the last minute unless they would agree not to discuss "politics." This Frances Willard refused to do: "We can give up high-toned churches but not our high-toned ideas; we will meet in a tent in a public square, if need be, but we will never smother a single sentence that we wish to speak." Finally Rev. John A. Wilson of the United Presbyterian faith opened his church to them, saying, "I travelled with your national president some years ago in Egypt and the Holy Land, and I don't believe she will permit anything very bad!" This controversy, however, stirred up further unpleasant feelings over the political alliance. The leader attempted to secure unanimity in the convention by another of her psychological appeals. This time she termed her partisanship "gospel politics"! She said that by the laws of spiritual dynamics the year had been one of their best, probably because one of their most progressive years. She reminded them that it was no new thing to lend their influence to a political party, as they had done that in 1880. Then she expressed surprise that the "justice, propriety and logical necessity" of their action in indorsing the Prohibition party should have been questioned but added that she felt confident time would justify their course. In an endeavor to silence criticism and arouse that solidarity for which she was justly noted, she told the assembled delegates: "Dear Sisters: We must stand by each other, side by side, shoulder to shoulder. We must march forward, with no break in the ranks, no aspersions, no careless, harsh or cruel judgments." But her pleasant appeal for support of "gospel politics" still failed to silence some critics. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster of Iowa, staunch Republican, led the opposition, although she was unable to muster more than 48 votes against partisanship to the 195 in support of Frances Willard and politics. At this convention of 1884 the Union may be said to have crossed the Rubicon of politics. Although the women

had been cool to her first suggestion of a political alliance, they had gradually been won over, just as formerly they had slowly been won to suffrage. The remarkable leadership of Frances Willard is clearly illuminated by the way she swung this mass of conservative women behind three unpopular activities which at the outset they had almost unanimously opposed. Had she presented these issues to them flatly and then called for a vote, she would have been overwhelmingly defeated. Instead, her technique was to edge into the question gradually, basing the issue in each instance upon home protection. Thus she made a strictly emotional appeal for suffrage, labor, and politics. As she once commented, people are more afraid of words than ideas. Accordingly, she disguised her ideas in volatile words and phrases. Thus did emotion carry the day when reason and inertia would have barred the way. Some women like Mrs. Foster, a clever lawyer from Iowa, were not deluded by this beautiful fabrication of words, but the majority of the women were mesmerized. Frances Willard, with her dramatic personality, her appealing oratory, and her flair for leadership, held the Union for twenty years in the hollow of her hand. Shrewd as Mrs. Foster was, she never scored any real success in her effort to dislodge Frances Willard from the headship of the organization or in changing her avowed policy. In 1885 Mrs. Foster could secure only 30 votes in opposition to the leader, against 245 for her; in 1886 the vote stood 241 to 42; and in 1887, 341 to 14.

Frances Willard's influence in politics rested on the fact that she had forged the largest organization of women in the land. As president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union she commanded the voice of several hundred thousand women. Although they still lacked suffrage, such an organization of women was a potential strength not to be underestimated, as recognized by the *Voice* (August 27, 1885).

The Union in her hands became an instrument of power to be bartered for favors in the advancement of suffrage and temperance. Against determined opposition from her many friends she indorsed the Knights of Labor for their support on both these issues. Although she plainly stated that as a rule she was opposed to secret societies as a relic of medieval times, she made exceptions of the Knights of Labor and the Good Templars. "I believe," she said to the Union in 1887, "we should have some kind words for the move-

ment that is revolutionizing the outlook of our brothers and sisters who are wage-workers and through which temperance and the elevation of women are making such progress as seems well-nigh magical." Again she linked her destiny with a radical movement. Organization lends strength to minority groups which otherwise would be ineffective. No one realized this truism more than this prophetic leader, and no one ever used an organization to greater advantage than she did.

Disappointed at their results in the campaign of 1884, Frances Willard looked forward eagerly to their next trial of strength in 1888. The Prohibition party convention, which met in Indianapolis on May 30, was the most colorful and sensational in their history. Over a thousand delegates assembled, flushed with enthusiasm and hope for victory. General Clinton B. Fisk of New York was promptly nominated their presidential candidate. Frances Willard was honored by being asked by the party chairman, Sam Dickie of Michigan, to give the Memorial Day address to the "Army of Blue and Grey" represented there in the convention. One of the high lights of the convention was this speech, which was expected to bind the delegates of the South and West together in political unity.

The only discordant note at the convention was the controversy over the suffrage plank. A small minority attempted to bar from the platform an equal-suffrage plank. Frances Willard again was on the resolutions committee where the issue was squarely met. Rev. Sam Small of Georgia, who represented the minority, finally gave in: "The majority has been so magnanimous that I can do no less than bow my neck to the yoke!" One may conjecture he was not enthusiastic for woman suffrage. When the resolution was read before the convention, discussion from the floor was demanded. After a lengthy debate it was put to a vote, but the opposition could muster only sixty votes. This was a special triumph for Frances Willard, as she was the most prominent protagonist there for the suffrage plank. After the vote was announced, she received an ovation with wild applause, the waving of banners and handkerchiefs and the hilarious stamping of feet.

Some of the important planks in their platform are worth considering, as this was the party which Frances Willard wholeheartedly indorsed and the party whose policy she greatly influenced. Their views were her views.

Prohibition must be secured through amendments of national and state constitutions.

Any form of license, taxation or regulation by the liquor traffic is contrary to good government. Any party which supports regulation, license or tax enters into alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the state's welfare.

Internal revenue system should be abolished that the national government should not support the nation's greatest vice.

Equal suffrage should be secured through the legislation of the several states, on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

Abolition of polygamy and establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce should be enacted.

Prohibition of all combination of capital to control costs of production should be made.

Prosecution of the Sabbath as a civil institution.

Arbitration is the Christian, wise, and economic method of settling national disputes. The same method should also be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employees and employers.

Monopoly in land is a wrong to the people and public lands should be reserved to actual settlers.

Men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

There should be stricter immigration laws to prevent the influx of convicts, morons, and undesirable persons.

Her prominent position in the National Prohibition party assured her a spectacular part in the notification ceremony. Not only did she speak for thirty minutes, but she gave the party its symbol. Learning that the Democrats had adopted a red rose as their party symbol, she suggested the Prohibition party adopt the white rose. This was indorsed by the party officials. Accordingly, white roses decorated the platform of the Metropolitan Opera House on this June evening; and Frances Willard had the unique pleasure of pinning the first white rose on the party chief. Thereafter, two symbols conspicuously decorated the public references of Frances Willard—the white ribbon for the Union and the white rose for the Prohibition party.

The Prohibition party is generally recognized as having introduced into the public forum many progressive ideas which were later adopted by the old-line parties. The new party was interested in economic and social problems as well as prohibition. Even as early as 1872 the party declared in favor of prison reform, woman

suffrage, regulation of railroad rates, and a tariff commission. There had been some expectation that the Republican party, organized in the fifties, would advocate prohibition, but these hopes were vain. After the Civil War the brewer appeared as a powerful factor in the political system. His influence reached even the highest offices, as was disclosed in the Whiskey Scandal of 1874. This exposé and resulting reaction, however, did not end the unholy alliance between liquor and politics. When the temperance sentiment swept the country after the Crusade, people discovered that the liquor interests were well intrenched in the political system of the nation.

The Prohibition party, therefore, re-emphasized the nation's temperance views and thereby exerted enough pressure that the national Democratic convention of 1884 adopted a mild temperance plank in its platform. The General Conference of the Methodist Church further implemented the temperance issue of the nation by adopting a resolution to celebrate the year 1885 as the centennial of the temperance movement in America. This movement was first started by Benjamin Rush (1745—1813) with the publication of a pamphlet on liquor. In 1886 the conventions of the Republican party in many states, especially in the West, passed resolutions in favor of an amendment for prohibition. By 1888 the national Republican party even went so far as to pass the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican Party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well directed efforts for the promotion of temperance morality.

While this may appear a somewhat meaningless concession, it was far in advance of any previous declaration of the party pertaining to the temperance issue. Both major parties were forced into such declarations by the inroad of sentiment created by the Prohibitionists. Ernest H. Cherrington, author of *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States*, claims that the question of prohibition occupied a prominent place in the legislative sessions of three-fourths of the states and territories during the eighties and that by 1909 two-thirds of the territory and almost one-half of the people of the United States were "dry," largely through the operation of local option. This view is also supported by the distinguished historian, Arthur Schlesinger.

Rumblings of discontent persisted in the national conventions of

the W.C.T.U. The presidential year 1888 saw another outcropping of opposition in the Union's political alliances. Again the attack was led by the astute Mrs. Foster of Iowa, who by this time had been elected Republican national campaign committee chairman of the women's national Republican convention. This recognition was not because Mrs. Foster was so important or because the Republican party had suddenly become woman-conscious but because Frances Willard had created so much political furore that the Grand Old Party felt compelled to meet the competition. The astounding growth of the Prohibition party and the amazing influence of the Union made the Republicans repent their shortsightedness toward this first woman politician. They had insulted her in 1882; six years later they attempted to woo the Union through Mrs. Foster. Thus the line of difference between Mrs. Foster and Miss Willard was drawn more taut than ever because it was a contest between the Republican party and the Prohibition party for support of the W.C.T.U. In her presidential address of this year (1888) Frances Willard attempted once more to smother the revolt and to rally the women unanimously around her. She said:

> Lugubrious prophecies have been put forth concerning the results of our righteous partisanship, but none of them have come to anything more substantial than their own melancholy echoes. We are the only temperance society that has specifically declared its loyalty to the Prohibition Party, and we are today the strongest and most successful society in Christendom. Today our National Woman's Christian Temperance Union while recognizing the liberty of each state to be partisan or not, as it elects, is practically partisan, with exceptions so small that they but prove the beauty of the rule.

The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (October 20, 1888) characterized this address as intensely partisan.

Learning that Mrs. Foster had another protest to present to the Union at this convention (1888), the president very neatly used the old political custom of gag rule to squelch her opponent. Mrs. Foster had made the grave mistake of presenting her forthcoming resolution to the press sometime before the convention, with the result that the Union was well acquainted with the contents of her proposed motion. Some of the women even felt considerable resentment that the Republican partisan should first give publicity to

her resolution before it had been read to the convention. Consequently, it was decided to have a motion made at the beginning of the session that memorials and protest be referred to the executive committee without reading. The convention heartily indorsed this procedure by a vote of 214 to 78.[5] But this change in their usual procedure brought down upon them the invectives of the press, especially such Republican papers as the *New York Tribune* (October 25, 1888). The Union was accused of intolerance and of selecting policies by method of the "star chamber." The Foster resolution, however, was not permitted to die in committee but toward the end of the session was presented to the convention with the comment that the national W.C.T.U. made but two constitutional requirements of its members: signing the pledge of total abstinence and paying annual dues. The following resolution was promptly adopted with only a few opposing voices.

Resolved, That we re-affirm our allegiance to that party which makes its dominant issue the suppression of the liquor traffic, declares its belief in Almighty God as the source of all power in Government, defends the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath, recognizes equal suffrage and equal wages for women, demands the abolition of polygamy and uniform laws governing marriage and divorce, and aims to remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our land.

Again Ellen Foster of Iowa had been thoroughly defeated by the overwhelming popularity of Frances Willard. The loyalty and love of the women of the Union for their leader year after year, regardless of the issues she sponsored, triumphed over every obstacle. Even when ugly dissension arose a few years later, the love of these women for their chief remained supreme above all personal disagreement. One wonders what powers she possessed to arouse such constancy of devotion. She had charm, poise, and a sparkling wit which lighted up her heavier moments as the sun filters through dark clouds. But more than this was her ability to reach the hearts of women; she was a magician casting a spell over them. No woman of the century so thoroughly understood the technique of molding public opinion as did Frances Willard. She always knew how to make that perfect blending of emotional and intellectual appeal which intoxicated her listeners. An orator, a dramatic personality, a woman of charm, she handled a crowd of four or five thousand with the dexterity of an accomplished statesman. Moreover, she

knew the value of the clever use of symbolism. She spoke of the Union as an army—the "White Ribbon Army"; and thought of herself as a sort of Jeanne d'Arc. By various methods and means she wove a web of enchantment which allured the women to her as by magnetic attraction.

At the next annual meeting of the Union (1889) Mrs. Foster took more radical action than heretofore. She and her dissident faction withdrew from the Union, which included the Iowa Union, of which she was president. Thereupon Mrs. Foster organized a national "nonpartisan" Woman's Christian Temperance Union, according to the *Woman's Journal* (December 6, 1890), and became its president. The Union objected to this plagiarizing of their name, which added to the acrimony of the affair. Only a handful of members followed Mrs. Foster out of the parent-organization. Like the small group that had departed several years previous over the suffrage issue, their strength was infinitesimal and their organization transitory. Nevertheless, the Foster interlude was one of the most unpleasant episodes in the entire history of the Union and created unfavorable publicity.

In the election of 1888 the Prohibition party secured a vote of only about two hundred and fifty thousand, as compared with around five and a half million for each of the two major parties. This placed it, however, in the rank of a strong minority party. But instead of prohibition's becoming the dominant political issue of the land, as Frances Willard and others confidently expected, the tariff question suddenly appeared to distract the country. Old party lines therefore held more rigidly than she had calculated. Thousands of people who thoroughly indorsed the Prohibition party could not tear themselves away from the Republican fold. Yet the third party made commendable progress.

Frances Willard was attacked from other sources than Mrs. Foster for her alliance with the Prohibition party, as many of her friends were good Republicans. M. Louise Thomas, president of Sorosis and treasurer of the National Council of Women, wrote her a lengthy letter (August 14, 1888), pleading with her to let politics alone at the W.C.T.U. convention and center her energies on the temperance question. She advised:

> . . . . Also, if this convention can hold itself firm on the rock of temperance, and let party politics alone, it will win the respect of all parties,

and will make a score for Prohibition such as has never yet been made,—but, if on the other hand, its aims are for political strategy, whether for one or other of the existing parties, or for a third to be called "Prohibition,"—it will prove a miserable failure and many of its best friends will drop off and stand aside until the political war is over.

For myself, I want to vote, and if the time comes that I may, I will exercise the right, for the right, without fear or favor, but until then I am not in politics. I will not be the "stool pigeon" for any man or set of men; let them go down into the muddy pool alone, until justice be done. Still less will I carry down into it a cause so sacred as temperance, and leave it there merely as a battle cry when we cannot follow to protect it.

Yours for temperance, and for equal political rights for women, but not for the party strife of men.

At this time Frances Willard was president of the National Council of Women, so that this sharp criticism came from one of her own board members. In some states the Republican party, at least locally, co-operated in generous fashion with the women. This support was highly prized in many quarters, and pressure was put on Frances Willard not to jeopardize this relationship by her attachment to the Prohibition party. A letter (August 26, 1889) from Henry B. Blackwell—husband of Lucy Stone—stressed the suffrage objection to her partisan politics.

Friends in Kansas feel extremely anxious that you will not yourself antagonize or encourage others to antagonize the Republican Party in Kansas or in Wyoming. I am sure you will not do so, if you clearly appreciate the existing situation in those communities. In both, woman suffrage exists as a Republican measure and has the Republican party (an overwhelming majority) behind it. In Kansas Prohibition is a Republican measure and enforced better than anywhere else in the world. In Wyoming the women are ready to take ground for Temperance as soon as they are made voters by the State Constitution, as they will be, if the Prohibition question is left in abeyance there till the Convention (which meets September 4th) is adjourned and the State admitted by Congress.

These are the only places where woman suffrage can have a trial for many years to come and in both only by and through the favor of the Republican Party. For Heaven's sake do not let our last and only hope for our day and generation be lost by a premature and suicidal third party agitation.

As I frankly explained to you—we have lost the entire North West—North Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Idaho solely by the impression which prevails there that woman suffrage will mean Prohibition. If only

Miss Narcissa White and the local option agitation had been kept out of Washington Territory the whole northwest would have established woman suffrage this fall. Now it is killed for a generation to come, unless we save Kansas and Wyoming.

Dear Miss Willard, for the sake of women—for the sake of prohibition—do not let this matter be stirred in Kansas and Wyoming. Give the Republicans a chance to do this great act of justice unhindered. I speak not as a Republican for party reasons, but for woman suffrage and for temperance. Excuse my earnestness for I know the condition of the public mind in these western states—and remain your friend.

He overlooked the fact that it was only the Union that had made suffrage popular in the West and that it was only the Union which had made the Republican party interested either in suffrage or in prohibition. Of course, Mr. Blackwell had become somewhat hysterical over the situation in Kansas. A few weeks after Henry Blackwell's letter to Frances Willard, his wife, Lucy Stone, also wrote (September 2, 1889), urging that no third party be pushed in a state like Kansas where the Republican party was already supporting both prohibition and woman suffrage. According to the *Woman's Tribune* (March 8, 1890), the W.C.T.U. of Kansas solved the delicate situation by declaring that they would support the Republican ticket in municipal elections and the Prohibition party in national elections. Susan Anthony likewise was worried about this third-party alliance and most indiscreetly gave an interview to a reporter in which she criticized Frances Willard for her partisanship.[6] Thus was she beset by critics both without and within the Union and without and within the Prohibition party. Some of the suffragists thought her tie to the Prohibition party harmful to their cause, and some of the Prohibitionists thought their association with her and the suffrage question harmful to their cause. But firmly she stood in the midst of this cross-fire of criticism.

Although the Prohibition party went down to defeat again in 1888, it had succeeded in stirring up the agricultural West. The next four years witnessed considerable fomentation.[7] Out of this political disturbance were to come other third parties. From 1889 to 1892 five conventions were held in an effort to formulate a new party. The unrest of the prairies is best understood in this effort to organize a new party to right their economic and social wrongs. In the center of this political turmoil was Frances Willard.

CHAPTER XIV

Party Politics

"GOSPEL Politics" was the neat term by which the adroit leader made an alliance with politics palatable to her organization. Once the Union was committed to an acceptance of this brand of politics, however, it was launched upon a new career. Furthermore, Miss Willard did not hesitate long before participating in the maneuvering and tug-of-war of party action. After Gospel Politics came the more virile party politics.

With the disappointing results of the Prohibition party in the campaign of 1888, many persons recognized that if it were to make further gains the party would have to be reorganized. Moreover, after this defeat, the party was again divided by the thorny issue of suffrage. Thus Frances Willard considered the time ripe to work for a larger organization: a coalition of the liberal factions into one big reform party. Such a movement, she felt, would rally to its banner the malcontents of West and South.

There began at this time, too, a series of political conferences. The first of these was held at St. Louis, December 8, 1889. It was chiefly a representation of the various farmer's alliances and the Knights of Labor. They did little more than pass a few resolutions concerning free coinage of silver, abolition of the subtreasury system, plenty of available paper money, government ownership of the railroads, nonownership of land by foreigners, and prohibition of futures in grain. The second of such conventions was held in Ocala, Florida, early in December, 1890. Delegates came from the southern alliances and from the colored alliance. Again nothing much was accomplished except the reiteration of their grievances. The third convention was at Cincinnati in 1891. Here the delegates, in restating their previous resolutions, added that of the eight-hour day. But in none of these conventions had a new political party been created, although that was the obvious objective.

Into this caldron of political alliances Frances Willard plunged.

She had watched the seething unrest of the agricultural sections with sympathetic interest. Accordingly, she finally decided upon calling her own convention. In the autumn of 1891 she sent out a number of exploratory letters to prominent liberals, such as the following letter to Henry D. Lloyd, dated October 22, 1891:

If a private conference of reform leaders is called some time in January 1892, in Chicago, Indianapolis or Philadelphia, will you attend? It is contemplated to invite a dozen or more who are in the forefront of the battle, representing the different phases of the one great uplift that is by the blessing of God, to give the nation a new political redemption.

The purpose is to have this conference a private one in which we may first of all carefully consider the planks for the platform of 1892 on which we could agree; second, those which we would permit to go in, each army of reformers giving their influence with pen and voice for those planks that seem to them most calculated to improve the condition and outlook of the country; and third, agree to urge that all should give their votes for such candidates on the presidential ticket as the several reformers would agree to trust.

You will perceive that it is intended at this conference to attempt to come to some agreement not only concerning principles but men, in the hope that such agreement may foreshadow the platform and ticket of the "malcontents" of this country in 1892. Please think carefully of these few points and write me *in confidence* how the proposition looks to you.

Believe me, sincerely yours in love of God and humanity and our most sacred land.

FRANCES E. WILLARD

Undoubtedly, her object was to create a sort of steering committee to guide the deliberations of the great meeting to be held at St. Louis, February 22, 1892. By organizing the Home Protection party in advance of the Prohibition convention in the summer of 1882 she secured a leverage which increased her bargaining-power. Again she was maneuvering for strategic position. The response to her letters was so heartening that she proceeded to formulate final plans for the meeting. In December she issued definite invitations for a conference of political reformers to be held in the Sherman House, Chicago, Wednesday, January 27, at 9:00 A.M. Her letter of December 8 to Henry D. Lloyd expressed the hope "that out of this conference, which is private and informal, may grow such an agreement or understanding as will lead to securing a larger massed vote for reform movements than has hitherto seemed possible."

For God and Home and Every Land.

World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

World's W. C. T. U.

PRESIDENT,
FRANCES E. WILLARD.
[Office Sec., ALICE E. BRIGGS, Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.]

VICE-PRESIDENT, GREAT BRITAIN,
LADY HENRY SOMERSET,
19 MEMORIAL HALL, FARRINGDON ST., LONDON, E. C.

VICE-PRESIDENT, CANADA,
MRS. JUDGE STEDMAN,
FREDERICTON, N. B.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
MARY CLEMENT LEAVITT,
CARE RIDDER PEABODY & CO., BOSTON, MASS.

AMERICAN SECRETARY,
MARY A. WOODBRIDGE,

AMERICAN TREASURER,
ESTHER PUGH.



Time of Prayer—Noontide. Badge—A Knot of White Ribbon.

Object—To unify throughout the world the work of Women in Temperance and Social Reform, and to circulate a Petition addressed to all of the Governments of the world, for the overthrow of the Alcohol and Opium trades.

Methods—Preventive, Educational, Evangelistic, Social and Legal. Watchwords—Agitate! Organize!

National W. C. T. U.

PRESIDENT,
FRANCES E. WILLARD,
[Private Secretary, ANNA A. GORDON]
[Literature Secretary, IRENE POCKLER]
EVANSTON, ILL.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
CAROLINE B. BUELL,
EVANSTON, ILL.

RECORDING SECRETARY,
MARY A. WOODBRIDGE,
RAVENNA, OHIO.

ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY,
L. M. N. STEVENS,
PORTLAND, MAINE.

TREASURER,
ESTHER PUGH,
EVANSTON ILL.

Office of President, Evanston, Ill., U. S. A., Dec 31 1891

Hon. Ignatius Donnelly

Kind Friend:

On the 17th January, 1892, at the Sherman House, Chicago, a private Conference will be held, of a few leaders in reform movements.

Will You be there? It would be a reassurance to know that You so intended.

Yours with best wishes, Frances Willard

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LETTER TO IGNATIUS DONNELLY FROM FRANCES WILLARD

The special meeting she called in January, 1892, therefore, was to solidify a certain group upon certain issues before the great convention met in St. Louis. Ignatius Donnelly drew up the draft of the new party, which, with the approval of the Chicago delegates, he intended to present to the St. Louis convention. In this address the following proposals were made: (1) money should be issued only by the government; (2) the saloon, a pernicious influence, should be suppressed; (3) public transportation and communication must be under government control; (4) speculation in land was condemned and alien ownership of land held illegal; and (5) municipal suffrage for women with educational qualifications was recommended. The *Chicago Herald* (January 28, 1892) listed among those signing the recommendations Ignatius Donnelly, Frances E. Willard, J. B. Weaver, E. J. Wheeler, G. M. Miller, E. Evans, and H. S. Taylor.

It was the oppressive burden of debt which aroused the farmers of the West and South to aggressive action—a debt many times increased during the hard times of the eighties. The West had been seething almost since the close of the Civil War. There had been the Granger movement demanding antitrust legislation. Also there had been a number of farmers' alliances, which from the time of their inception discussed economic and social grievances. These organizations opposed monopoly, resented the immigrant, and wanted cheap money and reduction in the tariff. Conversely, these various organizations were potent forces in keeping alive the resentment of the West. It is also most significant that all these organizations welcomed women. Upon the dissident liberalism of these sections Frances Willard built her great Union. Indeed, this was one of the reasons for making the Union broad enough in scope to include western dogma.

The St. Louis convention, which Frances Willard looked forward to with such high hopes, was to be one of the most disappointing episodes in her brilliant career. She had carefully considered her strategy for control of the convention, but her plans went askew because of the malevolence of a jealous woman. Frances Willard had a commitment from T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, for support on the suffrage and prohibition planks. At this time the Knights of Labor numbered more than 500,000, so that the backing of Powderly was significant.

The political tenets of the Knights, too, fitted in well with western thought. Likewise, she had, or thought she had, the support of the Prohibition party, of which she had become such an integral part. Their 250,000 votes in the election of 1888 made them an influential voice in the proposed new party. But more than the expected backing of these two large organizations, Frances Willard had secured the support at the Chicago conference of such leaders as Donnelly, Weaver, and Wheeler. Thus she entered the Industrial Conference at St. Louis, February 22, 1892, with high trumps and fervid hopes. Although the conference was technically called the Industrial Conference, the press more frequently referred to it as the "Peoples' Convention." The *Kansas City Star* (February 22, 1892) described it as an extraordinary conglomeration of "brilliant uncertainty."

Anxious that her special delegation should all hang together and that all should go well, she sent identical notes to those who met in conference in Chicago on January 27. This letter suggested a preconvention conference on February 20, in the club house of the Lyndell Hotel for final plans to use all the influence possible to get the "consensus of opinion" adopted at the Sherman House included in the platform. All had been well planned, the right commitments made. But who could foresee the obtrusion of jealousy?

At the very beginning of the convention the delegation of the Prohibition party balked. They decided to meet separately, first, before joining the general conclave. This barred Frances Willard from the floor of the convention, as she was there as a delegate from the Prohibition party. Ignatius Donnelly, who had attended the Chicago conference a few weeks before, gallantly moved that Frances E. Willard, Lady Henry Somerset of England, and Clara Hoffman be seated as delegates representing the national Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The motion was greeted with "deafening cheers" and unanimously passed.

L. L. Polk of North Carolina, president of the National Farmers' and Industrial Union, was made permanent chairman of the convention, and John W. Hayes of the Knights of Labor, secretary. Benjamin F. Terrell of Texas, president of the Confederation of Industrial Organizations, as temporary chairman, had opened the convention by urging that they confine their demands to land,

transportation, taxation, and money, leaving the moral reforms until later. This, of course, cut directly across the policy that Frances Willard had so meticulously plotted in her Chicago convention. Chairman Polk lent support to Terrell by discussing in his opening speech the importance of the money question, completely ignoring the moral issues. Although the convention was off to a bad start from her point of view, she was by no means ignored. W. T. Wardell of South Dakota, treasurer of the National Prohibition party, nominated Frances Willard as one of the vice-presidents of the convention. This was received with wild cheering. Then a Kentucky delegate nominated Ben Terrell as the other vice-president. Both were unanimously chosen by the convention. When Miss Willard was called on to address the convention, she was received with tumultuous applause, despite no delegation present from the Prohibition party.

Meanwhile, the Prohibitionists, numbering about seventy-five delegates, met in informal conference at the Souther Hotel to debate whether or not they should participate in the People's Convention. Despite the support of J. W. Wheeler, editor of the New York *Voice*, and Sam Dickie of Michigan, national chairman of the Prohibition party, Frances Willard was confronted with trenchant criticism. Helen Gougar of Indiana and John St. John of Kansas led the opposing faction. St. John by this time had forgotten how grateful he was for the backing of Frances Willard and the Union in 1884 when he ran for president on the Prohibition ticket. Now he was openly hostile. Helen Gougar, who was responsible for this meeting and chairman of it, seemed to be actuated more by personal jealousy than political expediency as she declared to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (February 23, 1892), that she would "teach Frances Willard she did not own the Prohibition Party as she did the W.C.T.U."

Those who attempted to remonstrate with Mrs. Gougar in this meeting, over which she presided, were tartly reproved, being told not to interrupt the chair and to sit down! In this pandemonium of heated debate one man was heard to remark that "the only politician in the crowd is Frances Willard." After a number of sharp exchanges of words, the conference finally proceeded to a consideration of the program adopted at the Chicago convention, called by Frances Willard the last of January, at which neither Mrs. Gougar

nor St. John had been present. They both strenuously objected to that prohibition plank adopted in Chicago, which they declared was not strong enough. It read: "That the saloon is the great enemy of reform in this nation. As the chief foundation of corruption in our politics we denounce its pernicious influence upon our country and demand its suppression." The storm of debate which broke loose over this question divided the Prohibition delegates into two factions—the Willard faction and the Gougar faction. Mrs. Gougar gleefully reported to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (February 23, 1892):

> The Prohibition Party will never go in. We would rather be 300,000 strong in the right than 3,000,000 strong in the wrong. Miss Willard learned a few things today. She began to see, I think, that she has been taken in by Donnelly. If she goes to that Convention with that plank her influence will be killed. The conference will probably adopt a plank in favor of municipal suffrage for women, but if they want to win let them put up St. John and Powderly . . . . then they will sweep the country.

Frances Willard and Chairman Sam Dickie of the Prohibition party were thereby forced, for the sake of party harmony, to sign the resolution sent to the People's Convention that the Prohibition party could treat only with political forces that declared for the same principles. Thus the delegates of the Prohibition party, which Frances Willard had counted upon to give her solid backing in the convention, resolved not to participate until the platform had been adopted. As the platform was the very heart of the convention, this decision was tantamount to repudiation of the People's Convention. By refusing thus to enter the Convention, the Prohibitionists made it almost certain that the kind of platform they were demanding would not be written. Stripped of her power by the defection of the Prohibition party, Frances Willard struggled on to win a suffrage and prohibition plank in the People's party. But her support now was too weak and the opposition too great.

The report of the committee on platform was initiated by Ignatius Donnelly, who read a preamble. This was followed by the reading of the platform itself by the chairman of the committee, Hugh Cavanaugh of the Knights of Labor. But neither suffrage nor prohibition was mentioned. Within two hours Frances Willard read the committee's minority report, which supported both of these issues. She intimated unfair tactics, saying that when she left

the committee room late the previous evening the majority had voted for both the prohibition and the suffrage planks by a count of 55 to 25. She claimed, according to the *Kansas City Star* (February 23, 1892), that the minority who remained in session opposing these issues revised the platform. The Willard report was as follows:

1. We demand universal suffrage without distinction of sex.
2. We believe that the liquor traffic is the great enemy of reform in this nation, it is the chief foundation of corruption in our politics and we denounce its pernicious influence upon our country and we demand its suppression. . . . .

When Frances Willard concluded the reading of her report, the fiercest debate ensued. The southern members were afraid of woman suffrage because of the Negro-woman vote, and others feared that a clear declaration on prohibition might lose them votes in the East. So bitter became the debate that the press declared that these two issues might result in breaking up the convention (*St. Louis Globe Democrat*, February 25, 1892).

Jerry Simpson of Kansas moved the Willard report be laid on the table because the cure of poverty would inevitably lead to cure of intemperance. Therefore, he proposed to concentrate all their energy on the economic and social features of their platform. As one southern delegate shrewdly pointed out, Why should they put in a prohibition plank when they would not be able to capture one vote from the Prohibition party? This was the crux of the entire matter. Why insert a temperance plank if the Prohibition party was running a ticket in the field? Thus the Prohibition party, which Frances Willard had practically made, deserted her in the crucial hour. The power she could have wielded in this convention had she been able to pledge the strength of the Prohibition party which had secured 250,000 votes in the previous election evaporated into mist. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union with its strength of 200,000 was all very good as moral background, but it lacked actual votes.

When, finally, the insertion of the suffrage plank which Frances Willard demanded was put to a vote on the floor of the convention, the South voted solidly against it. Mr. Powderly then tried to save the situation by casting the eighty-two labor votes in the convention for the equal-suffrage plank. Secretary Hayes of the

convention, another Knight, attempted to clamp down on the opposition, but to little effect. The final count gave 254 for the measure and 246 against it. When this decision was announced, the tumult again broke loose, this time against the attempt of Powderly and Hayes to dominate the platform. Some even charged fraud in the voting. Demands for another vote came from all quarters of the hall. Then General Weaver, the potential candidate, announced himself opposed to the suffrage amendment, and Ignatius Donnelly made a personal appeal for peace. Immediately therewith the suffrage plank was withdrawn.

Frances Willard entered politics in the summer of 1881. In a few short years she had won for the Prohibitionists a place as a recognized minority party. As the *Voice* (August 27, 1885) expressed it: "The nation will never lose sight of the fact that the Prohibition Party was born of women and put in power by women." She had had great hopes politically of building a reform party which should unite the South and West. But the two planks she insisted upon were woman suffrage and prohibition. Both planks were acceptable to the West, but the South would have none of woman suffrage. Therefore, in an attempt to win the South to its progressive program, many wanted to delete the suffrage plank, letting that remain a state or municipal issue. The convention finally settled this thorny question by an overwhelming vote on the following compromise: "We demand that the question of universal suffrage be submitted by the legislatures to the several states and territories for immediate action," according to the *Kansas City Star*, February 24, 1892. This left the suffrage issue just where it had been.

The action of the convention constituted a major defeat for Frances Willard. When she lost the support of the Prohibition party, through the personal enmity of Helen Gougar, she lost her influence in the Industrial Convention. In politics there is a vast difference between a person who controls the votes of two or three hundred thousand and one unable to control any direct votes. The nonparticipation of the Prohibition party in the St. Louis convention left Frances Willard in this predicament. She still controlled the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, but whatever political influence it exerted was by indirection, except in the few states where women were enfranchised.

We may only surmise the bitterness she must have felt as she

wearily left the convention city where she had expected to triumph. She was met in Chicago by a reporter, who inquired what the Prohibition party would do. Rising quickly to the challenge, she replied that at their convention to be held on June 29, she believed they would "hew out a platform, heart of oak in every plank, sound on economic principles, treating of Government ownership of all highways and means of communication." Also, she believed that their platform would include monetary reforms, such as ownership of land, prohibition, and woman suffrage. With a tinge of sadness she added, "The platform will mean what it says and say what it means." She descried the spectacle of two reform tickets in the field, which divided their forces. The Prohibitionists, Miss Willard continued, would have met the People's party halfway. She disclosed that the method pursued had been, first, to secure the prohibition and suffrage plank in the People's party platform which would have brought in the Prohibition party.

In talking to the reporter, she ignored the fact that if the Prohibition delegates had sat in the convention, their strength with the support she already had pledged to her would have secured an acceptable platform. She did reveal, however, that she had promises from a number of the leaders of the convention to put in these important planks. According to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (February 26, 1892), she cited the Chicago conference at which she had presided when General Weaver, Ignatius Donnelly, A. J. Streetor, and Gilbert Delamator had committeed themselves to these issues. Also Colonel Polk, national president of the Farmers' Alliance, and Terrence Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, agreed to these planks. Thus she had the commitment of the right men for her issues, but the convention got out of hand as soon as it was learned that the Prohibitionists would not come in. Had they thrown the weight of their organization behind Frances Willard in the convention, there is little doubt that the kind of a platform she wanted and which under her guidance had been carefully prepared at the Chicago conference would have won out.

Her fertile brain continued to plan for union notwithstanding this humiliating defeat. Within a few days after arriving home she wrote to Mr. T. C. Richmond (March 1, 1892), who was a prominent attorney in Madison, Wisconsin, and a leader in the Prohibition party, encouraging him to secure from the People's party in

Omaha what they had failed to get in St. Louis. The part of the letter quoted below reveals her political plotting:

. . . . I am ready to do anything I can and not in the least discouraged. I am exceedingly sorry that you and Mr. Wheeler did not have a hearing before the Committee and the Convention. To secure both these ends I did what I could, but found the way thoroughly blocked on the part of the leaders whose opinion was controlling. I was also very sorry not to read the sentences you handed me at the time I made my minority report, but as Professor Dickey asked to see them and took them to you and Mr. Wheeler for consultation, I feel clear in the matter. Please tell me any criticism you have on my action, first and last, and be assured that I am sincerely desirous to do what is best for the good of the great reform masses of this country.

If you will send me an article on the subject at 259 La Salle Avenue, I think it will do good in the *Union Signal*, and if you say that which you have said to me about your willingness to waive the suffrage question of the state, of the larger hope of the union between the two reform parties, I think that utterance will disarm criticism in the Prohibition Party and place you where your talents and devotion merit in your relations to your old comradeship.

Despite her flaunted bravery, her spirit fagged from emotional exhaustion. Disappointed almost to illness over the outcome of her cherished plans, she wrote within a fortnight (March 11, 1892) again to Richmond. Stating she had not been strong since the St. Louis meeting, she announced that she was going away somewhere East or South to be quiet. The initiative now, she said, rested with him and Wheeler, and she even indicated her own abdication from politics. But after a rest she rallied from this despondency and labored with renewed hope for a fusion ticket of the Prohibitionists and Populists.

She went to the Prohibition convention in Cincinnati the last of June, ready to continue the battle for union. On the one hand, she had an understanding with J. B. Weaver, who was expected to be nominated as presidential candidate by the Populist party, and, on the other, an understanding with some of the Prohibitionists that they would nominate a dummy president, who would withdraw after the Populists' nomination in July. Frances Willard was supported by the *Voice*, the powerful New York weekly, which was the leading organ of the Prohibition party. She also controlled the *Union Signal*, the weekly paper of the Union. Both of these periodi-

cals began preparing ground for such a fusion immediately after the St. Louis convention. Thus two powerful factions were prepared to give battle: one led by Frances Willard and Dr. Isaac K. Funk of the *Voice*, and the other by Helen Gougar of Indiana and Governor St. John (1878–82) of Kansas.

Frances Willard was firmly resolved upon a coalition party. This had been her plea at the Chicago conference which she had called in January, it had been her stand at the St. Louis convention in February, and it was her battle front at the Prohibition convention in June. But all her effort toward fusion merely roused a more determined opposition. Whisperings around the hotel lobbies on the eve of the Cincinnati convention were that Miss Willard would try to nominate John Bidwell of California, the seventy-three-year-old liberal, with the expectation that he would later decline in favor of J. B. Weaver or whomever the Populists nominated. Although for months she had done spadework, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (June 28, 1892) predicted at the outset of the convention that she had outdistanced her party.

The opposition to Frances Willard was strong enough, even though she was a member of the executive committee, to keep her off all important committees, including the resolutions committee, the credentials committee, and the permanent organization committee, according to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (June 30, 1892). She had been a member of the resolutions committee ever since she had joined forces with the party in 1882. Hence the fact that she was now omitted from this important committee was commented on by the press.

It seemed to be the general feeling, noted the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (June 26, 1892), that had she been on the resolutions committee, her influence being so powerful, she could have shaped the platform so as to make coalition easy. Mrs. Gougar, however, managed to get on the resolutions committee, the national committee, and the executive committee, reported the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* (June 30, 1892).

Frances Willard wanted a complete fusion of name, organization, and platform with the Populists, who on adjourning in St. Louis in February had arranged to meet in nominating convention in Omaha on the Fourth of July. Her effort was directed to keeping the Prohibition nominee and platform such that they might unite with

the Populists at the right moment. But the opposition to her grew stronger every hour of the convention. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (July 1, 1892) said:

> It is reported on many sides that Miss Willard will not come out of the convention with flying colors. In several respects it is stated that her influence is greatly injured since her espousal of the fusion of Prohibition and the People's Parties, and where the end will be no one seems to be able to foretell, except that the fighting will be forced to a finish.

St. John, who was the temporary chairman of the convention, sounded the "no-fusion" note at the very outset, which rallied the forces of opposition to Frances Willard into martial array. As the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (July 1, 1892) viewed the situation, vilification, vituperation, and trickery permeated the entire convention to such an extent as would down the older parties. The resolution for fusion was defeated in committee by Mrs. Gougar and St. John, who also steered it to defeat when introduced on the floor of the convention. As reported in the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* (July 1, 1892), they succeeded "through demagogy and a trick with the previous question in having it laid on the table by a rising vote of four to one." The platform was finally adopted after hours and hours of bitter wrangling, wherein Mrs. Gougar and W. T. Wardwell, treasurer of the national committee, engaged in an "exciting and damaging scene on the open floor," said the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. But the plan for fusion had died a-borning.

Frances Willard was now thoroughly defeated. Her good comrades of the Union in a desperate move to bring her before the convention for a final triumph wired the chairman asking that in behalf of the white-ribbon women their honored leader be given an opportunity to speak from the platform.[1] On motion this request was granted. Accordingly, Frances Willard was escorted to the platform and beautifully introduced by Chairman Ritter as the "Queen of the Prohibition Party." Her appearance on the stage was the signal for a great demonstration, which showed her popularity was not yet dead. She attempted to defend her effort for fusion and to recapture her lost support. Her speech, which was cleverly phrased, bright, and witty, won round after round of applause. As she concluded her speech, she was presented with a bouquet of flowers from her loyal friends of the Union. Despite her defeat, this epi-

sode enabled her to leave the convention in a blaze of glory with the shouts of the convention dinning in her ear.

If the Prohibition party had followed the broad vision of Frances Willard and joined the Populist party, they might have swept the country; but they clung too narrowly to their own little organization. Miss Willard, according to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (July 1, 1892), attributed the defeat of fusion very largely to Mrs. Gougar.

Frances Willard took no part in the campaign of 1892. She was disappointed at the action taken by her friends at the Populist convention held at Omaha the first week in July, for their platform was silent on both suffrage and prohibition. For six months Frances Willard had worked frantically for the fusion of all reform groups into one great party which should embody the best idealism in the West and South, including woman suffrage and prohibition. Her well-laid plans suffered a series of defeats.

A personal grief was now in store for her. Her aged mother upon whom she had always lavished the deepest devotion fell ill about the middle of July. It was quite obvious from the beginning that the end was not far away. She was "St. Courageous" to the last and on her dying day whispered to the doctor that if he could get a balloon and start it for heaven she would step aboard with great alacrity. But Mrs. Mary Hill Willard, better known as Mme Willard, departed for Heaven in the age-old way at midnight, August 6, 1892. Although expected, her mother's death nevertheless caused Frances the most harrowing grief. Her mother was the last of her family to go, and with St. Courageous went all the tender memories of the early family years. Fortunately, Frances had refuge in a kindly friend who urged her to come to England to rest undisturbed. When her sister Mary had died long years before, Frances expiated her grief by writing a memorial biography of her. Now she again sought solace by writing a tribute of her love and affection. By 1894 the small volume, *A Great Mother*, was completed.

The disappointment of her political plans, the grief of her mother's death, and her own physical exhaustion all precluded any further political action during the year. She declared in her address to the Union (1892) that "the political campaign touches our organization very lightly." This was a far cry from her fiery political speeches for support of the Union during the exciting campaigns of 1884 and 1888. But after the Prohibitionist defeat in 1892 she again

declared there should be a new party. An excerpt from a letter from G. W. Bain, dated December 15, 1892, indicates her effort to rouse some of the prominent Prohibitionists to action:

> I think the Republican party will, like the Whig Party, try once more to secure the reins of government but for want of moral purpose and moral courage will signally fail. Then will come a re-organization and in that re-organization political leaders will see that the party which goes forth to meet the Democratic Goliath must have a great moral issue. In that re-organization neither of the names of the parties entering the great conference will be chosen. If we change names now we will lose the name then. But if we continue to educate and agitate and in the next contest show encouraging gains we will reach what Wm. E. Gladstone calls "within range of practical politics." That is the point where a question is ready to be carried to the front for solution and politicians see the necessity and advantage of the question. Then the Republicans, Populists and Prohibitionists will unite, prohibition will be the leading issue, with suffrage, labor interests, farming interests etc. to follow, the home against the saloon being the battle cry. "Home Protection" will suit perfectly for the name of the new party.

Miss Willard remained in England from the late fall of 1892 until June, 1894, so that her political agitations ceased for this period. But in her annual address to the Union (1894) she asked that the department of politics be created, adding, "If I were ten years younger, I should ask to be placed at its head." The work of this new department, she explained, would be to send a letter to every local Union asking that each member call upon a dozen families in their community who are known to be Populists or Prohibitionists. These people should then be invited to the home of a white-ribboner for the purpose of endeavoring to unite them in a pledge "for a Union party—the great new party of the future, the Home Protection Union." She again lauded the new concept of social justice, saying: "Henry George and the single tax; Sidney Webb and the Fabian platform; Samuel Gompers and the Universal Federation; Powderly and the Knights of Labor; John Burns and the Parliamentary program; Tom Mann and Keir Hardie with their new party of the people . . . . these are the persons and these the themes that hold the thought of the masses of the Anglo-Saxon race today." Thus did she envisage a new party, her party, the Home Protection Union.

The winter of 1894–95 saw much dissatisfaction among many of the leaders of both the Prohibition and the Populist parties. Especially was there criticism of Sam Dickie, national chairman of the Prohibition party.[2] Ignatius Donnelly was one who thought the time ripe for a "get-together" of all elements, for, as he pointed out, more than ninety-nine out of a hundred Populists were temperance men, anyway. Surprisingly, John St. John was another critic at this time of the Prohibitionists. "Our party," he said, "is dying of dry rot," and in a letter to T. C. Richmond (May 16, 1895) he declared himself in favor of a union of all reformers. Meanwhile, Frances Willard was urging Lloyd to run for the presidency under the Populist's flag.[3]

All these cross-currents resulted in a conference of reform leaders in March. A committee was here appointed to work with the various organizations in an effort to achieve a combination of all reform parties for the presidential contest of 1896. The leaders backing this movement were: Ernest Crosley of New York; John St. John and Mary E. Lease of Kansas; Josiah Strong, D.D., of New York, author of *Our Country;* Hon. John G. Woolley, Chicago; Bolton Hall, secretary of the New York Tax Association; W. S. Rainsford, D.D., rector of St. George's Episocopal Church, New York; A. B. Leonard, D.D., corresponding secretary of the Methodist Episcopal church; H. Clay Bascom, Troy, New York; Thaddeus B. Wakenan, New York; Samuel Dickie, chairman of the national Prohibition party, Frances E. Willard, president of the national Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Henry D. Lloyd, author of *Wealth against Commonwealth;* Edward Bellamy, author of *Looking Backward;* W. D. F. Bliss, editor of *Dawn;* Milton George, editor of the *Farmers Union;* I. E. Dean, chairman of the New York People's party's state committee; Joseph Cook of Boston; and some three hundred more, representing the various reform organizations of all sections of the country.[4]

Despite this imposing array of strength, the hoped-for union failed to materialize. Silver became the great issue in the campaign of 1896, which split the two major parties. The Populist party nominated the Democratic candidate, which was tantamount to a fusion, and an offshoot of the Prohibition party called itself the "National party." But, even before the national party conventions, a feeling of frustration pervaded the leaders of both the Popu-

list and the Prohibition parties. In December Edward Bellamy of the Peoples party stated: "While we are left practically without a party, it is good riddance, seeing that the organization had fallen into bad hands."[5] And a few months later Richard T. Ely avowed his fading confidence in the Populists. He felt nothing could be done with the party and that it was doomed to disappear because it was based upon no clear, well-defined "principles of permanent character."

In 1896 Miss Willard attended the Prohibition party national convention at Pittsburgh, but she did not take a prominent part. She witnessed the spectacle of seeing her party split, as did the Democrats, over the silver issue. Worn out and ill from her active life, she did not again attempt political combat. In her annual address to the Union this year (1896), she sang her swan song on politics. She said:

> In 1884 when we took our position for God in politics, the Prohibition Party had never mustered more than ten thousand votes. When we were in session here [St. Louis] I had a letter from the Quaker Whittier begging me not to take this position: a most brotherly letter from Edward Everett Hale to the same purpose and a score more from names not less renowned in the field of politics. The Prohibition Party is the embodied protest of the home against the saloon and I am glad we said so long ago, it was our party.
>
> You and I have suffered. I could tell you of towns in which they barely fell short of hanging some of us in effigy; you and I have had friends whom we had known for a life time who would not bow to us on the street.
>
> I have often thought of still another convention held in St. Louis in February, 1892, a convention of one thousand labor delegates. I sat up all night with the committee on resolutions of that great labor party—but they would not put in prohibition and they would not put in woman's ballot. And yet I love the labor party: I am devoted to the eight hour law and many of the other great purposes they have taken to themselves.

So she had labored in the political arena for well-nigh sixteen years and had gained little. Yet as a means of catapulting the suffrage question into the political arena it was clever strategy. Her work in the Prohibition party practically forced the Republican party to give some recognition to women. It also made the women of the Union politically minded. Women campaigned for candidates, circulated political literature, and discussed political problems. The political issue was, however, the most disturbing question in the

Union, which became more and more distressing each year that the president presented the political resolution for adoption. It did dramatize, however, the woman-suffrage issue and aligned women with men in a common cause.

In her annual address to the Union in the autumn of 1897 she recognized that it was late for them to announce their friendship for the Prohibition party but that they would be lacking in that "chivalry of women if they did not fellowship with the liberal party." She recounted that this party retains its broad declarations for the enfranchisement of women. Somewhat bitterly and regretfully, it would seem, she told the women that the "heart-break of all reform is the lack of co-operation among the leaders."

CHAPTER XV

Temperance and Labor

IT WAS not until after the Civil War that American labor came of age. Early organizations of workingmen had been short-lived and unstable in their policies. Trade agreements between workingmen and employers were sporadic and haphazard. The fruits of victories won by strikes were soon dissipated by lack of the effective organization of the workers or else by the inability of the manufacturer to shift to the consumer the increase in wages which the workers had temporarily secured from him. The labor movement made its first impressive advance under the leadership of the Knights of Labor. Founded in 1869 on the basis of "the individual masses" instead of the trade-unions and professing the precept that "the injury of one is the concern of all," the Knights of Labor captured the imagination of social reformers as well as workingmen throughout the United States. Under Terence V. Powderly, who was elected General Master Workman in 1879, the Knights grew in membership from a few thousand to 730,000 in the year 1886.

Frances Willard was not an indifferent spectator of this remarkable development in the labor field. Ever alert to opportunities to attach the temperance cause to other social and political movements, she saw the advantages of co-operation with the Knights of Labor. In her annual address before the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1886 she declared: "The Knights of Labor will soon hold the balance of power at the polls, and under their present leadership are likely to vote right on the prohibition issue. Terence V. Powderly, their Master Workman, has said some of the best things ever put in print concerning temperance reform. Their triumph is our own." Miss Willard's prophecy of the political weight of the Knights soared far beyond the influence that they finally attained. Nevertheless, the labor movement, through such leaders as Powderly, soon began to play an increasingly important

role in national as well as local politics. The general policy of the Knights was: an eight-hour day, limited immigration, equal pay for the same work by men and women, and the reservation of public lands for actual settlers rather than for the railroad speculators.

Her open espousal of labor, despite the adverse public opinion of the day, was a logical step in the intellectual development of Frances Willard. She had shown socialistic tendencies before her association with the Knights. The Prohibition party platforms of 1884 and 1888, to which she not only thoroughly subscribed but whose policies she had helped to formulate, were tinged with socialistic theories. The root of her socialism was probably lodged in western political thought, which called for government control of railroads, an income tax, a national banking system, and other approaches toward state socialism. She merely carried state regulation further to the left than the rank and file of westerners. The Knights were considered extreme in their views, especially by the people of the East. No Socialist party had yet been organized, so that most people along the seaboard were shocked by such radicalism, some of which has since been included in our democratic creed. The American free-land policy, of course, was socialistic, although rarely regarded in this light.

Perhaps the most bitter critic of her friendship with the Knights of Labor was Lucy Stone, who wrote her sharply (March 28, 1887) as follows:

> I watch with fear and trembling your approaches to the Knights of Labor. They carry seeds of the disruption of all business as the very kernel of their creed. For instance, the Botcheller Shoe Firm in North Brookfield, Mass. are an old firm well known to me as a firm who have been on the friendliest terms with their help. Three hundred of the "hands" own their own houses. Some of the boys who did not do their work were discharged. Whereupon the force of hands were all ordered to strike.
>
> Some of the men came with tears to Mr. Botcheller, and said they had no choice. By order of the Knights of Labor they must strike. They were under dreadful oaths that bound them to strike. Mr. Botcheller said "The discharge of four boys who had (and deserved) to be discharged under the rule of the Knights of Labor stopped all the work of a great factory, with a loss of thousands of dollars a day to the hands and more than that to the firm." He said no man could carry on business at such a risk under the circumstances. After a month, he decided never to employ a Knight of Labor

or Labor union man. If they came back to work, they must leave the K. of L. and unions. His shop should be free.

Now, while this unreasonable and destructive element is in the Knights of Labor as a principle—they are a menace to business integrity and to national prosperity—don't you see?

Organized labor, strikes, lockouts, and other means of organized force were not then a public recognized right of labor as they are today. Indeed, all labor associations were unpopular with an immense segment of the American people. Notwithstanding public disapproval and the many rebukes received, Frances Willard continued her association with labor. This was in fulfilment of her earlier convictions.

Further, her brand of politics was of the left wing, which in some respects was only thinly separated from the philosophy of the Marxian revisionists. While socialism and labor were two separate movements, as Samuel Gompers was soon loudly to proclaim, most socialists were interested in better conditions for the workers. Again, Christianity itself has more than once found expression in socialist creeds. Thus, through the approach of socialism, politics, and religion, Miss Willard had a genuine affection for those who toil. But, in addition, she was guided by her strong bent toward political strategy.

Prudence required that she test the sincerity of the Knights of Labor on the liquor question. As a result of her inquiries, she found Terence V. Powderly, the General Master Workman, a stalwart supporter not only of the temperance cause but also of the purity program. She appealed to him and his loyal order to help with the petitions she was securing for Congress in the interest of better protection of girls. With his promising assurance of support on the purity petitions, she promptly added the labor movement to the activities of the Union, notwithstanding some trenchant criticism of this course within her own ranks. His splended co-operation in this matter created a bond of friendship between them and between the two organizations. Thereafter, representative women of the Union frequently appeared on the platform of the Knights at their annual meetings. And Frances Willard always commended the Knights for their stand on suffrage, temperance, and equality of women in labor. She even was initiated into the order in 1887.

To carry along her cohorts of the Union it was essential to establish the bridgehead between temperance and labor. This was not

difficult. Obviously, men addicted to drink were not the best workmen or the best husbands and fathers. Powderly himself was a total abstainer and adjured his Knights to be likewise. So the link was forged between factory, home, and temperance. The two organizations held similar views regarding the need for a Sunday closing law. The Union had long advocated the Sabbath as a day of rest. Frequently, temperance leaders presented petitions to local and national legislative bodies praying for bills to close shops and amusements on this day. The Knights likewise petitioned legislative bodies for a Sunday closing law. Although their motivation may have differed somewhat, the two organizations were well joined in this objective. So pleased was the leader of the Union to have labor's support on this issue that she was even willing to help the workingman secure the Saturday half-holiday and glibly told her followers how this would aid in the dedication of Sunday. She said: "Our department of Sabbath Observance may well co-operate with the Knights of Labor in securing the Saturday half-holiday that is sure to come, and which will do more than any other one measure to change the Sabbath from a day of recreation to a day of rest and worship."[1]

The co-operation of the Union with the Knights of Labor, however, was not a one-sided advantage. Labor benefited too. Miss Willard by this time dominated a large body of liberal-minded, churchgoing, philanthropic, and third-party constituents. Her influence probably extended to several million people. For two decades the press of the land eagerly carried her views on politics, morals, and religion. Support of such a national figure was no small triumph for the nascent labor movement.

The activity of the Union for labor was directed through several channels. There was contact with labor leaders, exchange of fraternal delegates at conventions, and public declarations of the officers of the Union. But also there was created a department of labor within the Union to function at the grass roots. And the leader herself endeavored to aid labor directly through her plan of the federated clubs.

The exchange of fraternal delegates was a charming gesture of good will. It was also an effective method of publicity. This custom began as early as 1886 at the convention of the Knights held at Cleveland. The Union sent a delegate with a letter signed by Fran-

ces E. Willard, L. M. N. Stevens, and Esther Pugh, which said in part: "The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union sends one of its highest and most trusted representatives, Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, to present to you the greetings of our society."[2] The woman delegate was well received.

At the Union's temperance convocation the following year at Lake Bluff, Illinois, representatives of the Knights were invited to speak. To represent the labor woman at this conference came Mrs. Elizabeth (George) Rogers of Chicago, former Master Workman of District Assembly 24. Frances Willard herself introduced Mrs. Rogers. She presented her as "a woman who had presided for some months over six hundred Knights of Labor who represented 40,000 members of that order." Mrs. Rogers stressed the fact that her order stood for equal pay for equal work and for woman suffrage.[3]

Furthermore, the Knights of Labor were represented at the first International Council of Women (1888). Frances Willard and the Union carried an important share of the work and success of this great conclave of women. She was no doubt at least partly, if not entirely, responsible for the Knights' delegation at this convention.[4] Two women represented the order: Mrs. Leonora M. Barry and Miss B. Loud. Mrs. Barry was a former millworker who had won recognition as an organizer for the woman's department of the Knights. She had proved an able investigator of labor conditions among the women workers and was thus well prepared to speak in a realistic manner on the subject, "What the Knights of Labor Are Doing for Women." Miss Loud also participated in the program. This meeting was an education for the women of both groups. Each learned something from the other and gained thereby in sympathy and tolerance toward one another.

When the Knights of Labor held their annual convention at Atlanta, Georgia, in the fall of 1889, the local W.C.T.U. there sent a delegation of women to present a resolution commending the Knights for their support of equal pay for equal work, praising their great leader for his total abstinence, and welcoming the convention to the southern metropolis. To this gracious address Mr. Powderly gallantly responded: "In the honored band of your organization we recognize one whom we are proud to claim as a sister of the Knights of Labor, and not only is it because of your good works, but because of your association with our Sister Frances E.

Willard that we are glad to have you with us.''[5] As a further gesture of good will, Miss Willard was invited, in this same year, to share the platform with other distinguished guests for the important Chicago lecture of Terence Powderly.

Hereafter, fraternal delegates of the Knights of Labor were invited to each of the national conventions of the Union, and the Knights continued to reciprocate warmly, even after Powderly was replaced by J. R. Sovereign as General Master Workman. This procedure did much to knit labor and temperance together and to create between the two organizations a bond of sympathy. By the nineties some thirty organizations in addition to the Knights of Labor sent fraternal representatives to the national convention of the Union. Such an exchange of greetings provided a spectacular demonstration of mutual confidence and good will among liberal groups, and the press was quick to sense the news value of this kind of representation. Publicity for the whole scale of political and social progress increased.

The Union also contributed to publicizing the objectives of labor through the columns of its paper, the *Union Signal*. Not only did it continually reaffirm the faith of women in labor, but also the paper continually set forth news items of their own department of labor within the Union. This publicity had a twofold purpose: it won a wider circle of friends for labor, and it aided in winning a more wholehearted approval of temperance adherents for this unpopular movement of the times.

The department of labor in the Union carried on a variety of activities through its own organization. The aim of this department was to induce employers to require total abstinence of their employees and to extend discrimination in favor of abstemious persons to every branch of insurance risks. This department also attempted to influence all organizations of workingmen to introduce the same discrimination into their societies. The method of procedure was typical of the other work of the Union. The women sent out thousands of circular letters, made personal appeals to individuals of influence, and secured space in the press. They even took their message of sobriety to the lumber camps, the miners, and the seamen.

Ever mindful of the broader aspects of the woman's movement, Frances Willard also was concerned about the wages and working conditions of women. In one of her numerous leaflets she recounted

that women in Chicago made twelve shirts for seventy-five cents and furnished their own thread and that they even finished off an elegant coat for four cents. Children, she said, were worked twelve hours a day for a dollar a week. To stamp out such inequitable conditions she called on the clubwomen of the city. With the support of the Woman's Club of Chicago, she asked for a women's council composed of representatives from all women's clubs in the city. Seventy clubs responded to the initial invitation, and fifty-nine of them accepted membership. The new society was formally designated as the Woman's League, and Miss Willard was elected the first president. Having secured this audience, she told her story of the shocking condition of the factory woman. Then she presented to this exclusive gathering of clubwomen her old friend of the Knights, Mrs. Elizabeth Rogers, to give her eyewitness account of factory conditions.[6] The campaign of the leader was not based on idealism but on real and unpleasant facts.

Miss Willard introduced a plan of action. Long acquainted with the successful method of petition and pressure, she now suggested to them this formula. She was confident that the members of the city council would be impressed by such petitions if representing the majority of the clubwomen of the city. Her plan involved the appointment of inspectors from among their group to investigate factory conditions and report their findings to the city council. Such reports were to be backed by petitions of the respective club memberships asking that remedies be provided. In this manner she was hopeful that fire escapes would be required in every factory, that girls would be allowed by law sufficient time to eat lunch, and that a proper place for rest would be provided. She further advocated sanitary ventilation and working conditions in all industries. Unfortunately, Miss Willard had too many other interests to permit her to devote the time to this enterprise which would have made it a signal success. Working up petitions takes a hard-driving leader. The clubwomen of Chicago at that time were not apprenticed to the work of petitions, propaganda, and pressure. The movement lagged. Nevertheless, Miss Willard had aroused the clubwomen of the city to a consciousness of the filthy, unhealthful, and degrading conditions of labor in their own environs.

The views of Miss Willard on the labor questions of her day are not entirely clear and must be pieced together from her scattered

comments. Her warm indorsement of the Knights of Labor indicated approval of their platform or at least a substantial part of it. However, she was not sympathetic with strikes and felt that labor disputes should be settled by arbitration. In this view she was searching for a system which today we call "collective bargaining." Of course, the Knights themselves opposed strikes, at least theoretically, and condoned only those forced upon them. Powderly proudly declared that in his fourteen years as General Master Workman he never ordered a strike and had been, in fact, able to settle some four hundred disputes by negotiation.

Repeatedly the leader stated both in print and from the platform that the labor movement had her warmest sympathy as far as it was carried forward by the peaceful methods of arbitration, co-operation, and the ballot box.[7] In the famous Haymarket Riot in Chicago (May 4, 1886), which was the result of agitation for the eight-hour day, the Knights refused to give the arrested rioters their support. Such labor leaders of Chicago as George A. Schilling and Henry D. Lloyd, however, took a firm stand in vindication of the arrested men.[8] But in this sensational conflict Miss Willard remained silent. Possibly it was because she was not yet quite sure of how far her loyalty to labor should go. These men were labeled "anarchists" in the press. Opposition to them was fierce and bitter. Indeed, this was an issue which aroused the entire city and eventually spread to national attention. The Universal Peace Union took a strong stand in opposition to the treatment meted out to these rioters now on trial for their lives. The *Peacemaker* (November, 1887) stated that the action of these "revolutionists" had not the element of murder or crime. These men, it held, had a right, in accord with American liberty, to assemble and discuss their grievance. Nevertheless, humanitarian that she was, Frances Willard could not bring herself to give public support to the Haymarket agitators.

The Universal Peace Union was aroused over the Homestead Strike (1892). Alfred H. Love, the president, wrote to some of the leading members for suggestions on how to stop it. Frances Willard responded in typical fashion as follows:

EVANSTON
July 14, 1892

I feel as you do that something ought to be done and that at once. It is monstrous—the present condition of things—but we do not wish, if we be-

gin, to make a failure. I have thought that possibly if one leading woman, representing each of the parties, should be asked by the peace society to undertake to see what could be done in the way of arbitration, something might come. Susan B. Anthony is perhaps the most prominent Republican woman in the United States, Mrs. William C. Whitney and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore is as much a nationalist as anything. I do not know whether she [Mary Livermore] stands for the People's Party or not. I am a Prohibitionist.

I do not know that any of these women would think of undertaking such a colossal task. They certainly would not on their own notion, but if you, as an officer of the Peace Society request that they do so it is conceivable that they might, though I regard it as unlikely.

It does not seem to me that it would be of any use for us to write Mr. Frick or O'Donnell. If a petition were started, urging the parties to arbitrate, something might be done but it would require instant action and I fear would come too late.

When women vote, such a situation will be spoken of as a "relic of the dark ages."[9]

The Homestead Strike was followed shortly by the even more bitter Pullman Strike.

Like Miss Willard, Lloyd also regarded strikes as unfortunate and even went so far as to say that the government should institute compulsory arbitration. But in actual practice he supported the victims of the Haymarket Riot which resulted from a strike, and he even gave support to Eugene Debs in the Pullman Strike of 1894. Miss Willard was not so generous in her indorsement of strikes, and the following letter to Lloyd (November 27, 1895) indicates her disapprobation of the Pullman Strike, if not of Eugene Debs:

> It afflicts me that I cannot take such a position in relation to Mr. Debs as I would gladly have done when I was in Chicago. I learn that he is under the domination of whiskey to such an extent that in the very height of that awful strike, which was practically civil war, he had to be locked up because he was utterly out of his mind through drink. No such leader can ever command any small influence that the White Ribbon women may have. "Level heads first of all and always" is our battle cry. I feel sure that you hold the same view and for that reason I am writing frankly about what I have never said by voice or pen in public and don't propose to.[10]

Picking up the theme of the Pullman strike in one of her lectures, she said that everybody knew strikes were the token of a wide-

spread discontent among those who face the specter of hunger and houselessness. She considered it a great mistake, she said, to regard the wage-earning class as a menace to the country when in fact they were the country itself. Nor would she admit, she continued, that as a class they had been guilty of endangering or destroying life and property.

The greatest battle of the year of 1894, she stated, had been the success of the colliers' strike in England, "and the women were in it to the last breath." As the pattern for a well-conducted strike she pointed to the sweated coat-makers of New York City, who, under the skilful guidance of Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, won all for which they had asked. Yet she hastened to point out that there was a better way for securing justice—by boards of conciliation and arbitration between the employer and the employee. But such a meeting, she held, would have to be on an equal footing, with each side able to speak freely. Deeply perturbed over adequate representation for labor on such boards of settlement, Miss Willard asked the convention of the national Union that year (1894) to pass a resolution urging the national government and the state governments to place women on boards of conciliation for labor disputes. Adoption of a regular system of arbitration, she said, would "be a long step from anarchy and toward peace with honor."

Her opposition to the strike reflected the accepted view of the press and the public in the nineties. It was not until Samuel Gompers forced the American Federation of Labor to adopt the strike as a weapon of labor that it became a recognized technique.[11] Miss Willard remained inconsistent. On the one hand, she decried strikes, while, on the other hand, she gloried in the advance of labor albeit through the successful use of this method.

The eight-hour law was another fundamental goal to which all labor was committed. Miss Willard had supported this effort from the early eighties, although she felt that this single reform was not enough to offset the ravages of industrialization. She explained to one audience that a lace-making machine could perform the work formerly done by eight thousand lace-makers. Yet this was not a condemnation of the machine but rather of the slowness in the readjustment of the economic system to industrialization. In an interview with the press she recommended—what is now held to be a fallacious theory—the eight-hour law as a means to secure increased

wages and to add one-fourth to the number of employed. "In this way could the army of tramps be disbanded."[12]

In her message to the women meeting in the convention of the world Union in 1895 she again stressed the social lag of the machine. The rapidity of inventions, she told them, had decimated the ranks of the workers. Statistics revealed that in New York City the numbers of carpenters employed had decreased 15 per cent because of the new machinery introduced, the number of buttonhole-makers had decreased by 50 per cent, shirtmakers 33 per cent, bakers and confectioners 20 per cent, furniture workers 50 per cent, printers 41 per cent, typefounders 50 per cent, silk-ribbon weavers 40 per cent, woodcarvers 62 per cent, and other industries in similar reductions. "Under this procedure of relentless competition, men are ground into dust by a heavier heel than old-time tyrannies could boast," she said. Even at her last national convention of the Union (1897) she implored the women to declare in favor of the eight-hour law.

Collectivism was a philosophy accepted by some laborites and rejected by others. The Knights eagerly moved in this direction. Miss Willard was much impressed with the glorious motto, as she called it, of the Knights: "That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all." To the national Union she declared that the railroads employed 700,000 men, with an invested capital of nine billion dollars, and with 160,000 miles of track. But, she said, people are becoming conscious of the fact that this great monopoly might more safely belong to the entire nation than to a few railroad kings; and likewise with the telegraph and the telephone.[13] Irked over what she considered the unequal distribution of property, she bluntly posed the question: "Why do one-eighth of the people own seven-eighths of the property?" She predicted that her generation was witnessing the beginning of the wonderful uprising against the power of the dollar and that the next generation would see the movement completed.

The philosophy of some of her highly esteemed colleagues was that of collectivism, so that by indirection one may place her in the same school of thought. Henry D. Lloyd clearly committed himself to this view in a letter to John Burns, the great labor leader of England, which he wrote on February 6, 1895:

> I am informed that plank 10, for collectivism, was defeated at Denver by the action of delegates who voted *no* although they had been instructed

to vote *aye*. If this be so, this treachery is sufficient confirmation of what I said to you about the "fakirs" of our Labor Movement. The result at Denver was a national misfortune. It is only on some such plain, general, radical proposition, that the peculiarly difficult element of our reform labor movement can be united. We have neither the homogeneity nor the mutual confidence which makes it possible for you in England to mobilize your forces on a practical program of progressive action. Our cohesion must be mainly intellectual. The defeat of plank 10 threatens to make it impossible to get our workingmen into any kind of political action, outside the old parties. I shall hope to have a word from you.

Frances Willard considered Lloyd the most practical and the ablest leader of the liberal movement. From her retreat in England she had written him that his address before the American Federation of Labor represented "the clearest keynote we have ever had." With the progress of women ever uppermost in her mind, she added a postscript to this message, saying, "Please get woman's ballot into the Gompers platform."[14] Having tied woman suffrage to the temperance movement with commendable results, she now seized the opportunity to ally it to the rising labor movement. However, her support of Lloyd was enthusiastic and without reservations. By 1897 she was even eager to see Lloyd president—labor's president—of the United States, and she wrote him on September 7, 1897: "I do hope they will have the wit and wisdom to nominate you for the president and not to follow on with Bryan and the silver issue. Your name would conciliate a following among a 'level-headed' class who would never rally themselves with any other leader now in sight or likely to appear. . . . . I think I shall follow where your plume waves."

Thus it seems apparent that Frances Willard believed in the strike when necessary, a system of arbitration for the settlement of labor disputes, the eight-hour working day, government ownership of transportation and communications, some species of collectivism, and a minimum standard of living for all. Further, it seems clear that she was in entire sympathy with the organizing of labor to better working conditions by collective pressure. She even encouraged labor to participate as a unit in politics, in order to support platforms and candidates, so as to translate its views into government policy.

Yet not all of her views were acceptable to her comrades of the Union. As she became more deeply attached to the labor movement,

she shifted her ground in temperance—but not until after a sharp and biting criticism in the press by a labor advocate. In 1887 she was publicly questioned as to her statement that the central question of the labor reform was not so much how to get higher wages as how to turn present wages to better account.[15] Acidly the writer declared: "This view shows how little one-half of the world knows about the other." He then recounted that industrial women earned an average of only $5.00 per week, while the men received scarcely $4.00 more. "The great difficulty in suppressing the dramshop," he said, "rises from the most part out of poverty. Now, Madame, I appeal to you as a Christian woman called to the head of a great organization to do some radical thinking and to give it courageous utterance."

What influence this public scolding had upon the great humanitarian it is difficult to assay, but she must have been aroused to a fresh channel of thinking, for it was not very long thereafter that a shift in her temperance views was noticed. Her first declaration of the new viewpoint came timidly in her address before the national convention of the Union in 1894. Here she suggested that a more even distribution of the world's goods would greatly reduce the patronage of the publican. But her full declaration came before the great world meeting in London the following year. Here she actually charged the drink traffic with keeping people down and the capitalists and politicians with support of the brewers for this particular purpose. Before the astonished women she said: "Under the searchlight of knowledge in these later days it is folly for us any longer to ignore the mighty power of poverty to induce evil habits of every kind. It was only our ignorance of the industrial classes that magnified a single propaganda and minimized every other so that Temperance people in earlier days believed that if men and women were temperate all other material good would follow in the train of the great grace." Poverty, she explained, was, in fact, the chief cause of the brutal drinking habits which "have distempered the English-speaking world."

Thus, in order to wipe out intemperance, the leader had come round to the viewpoint that one must first wipe out poverty. This orientation made fast the link between temperance and workers: between the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the forces of labor. In this fashion did she straddle social reforms and eco-

nomic problems to the bewilderment of many in her band of followers.

She wrote to Lloyd asking him to put her in touch with Mr. Gompers, "if he be true and genuine." Therewith Lloyd wrote Gompers, suggesting that he ask Miss Willard to write an article for his *American Federationist* on the coal strike in England. Several months later Lloyd received her grateful acknowledgment of the "contact" with Gompers. "I have received a very nice letter and I have tried to send a nice one back to him," she wrote. Within a week she sent an article to Lloyd for disposal, but it was not on the coal strike but on population, for which she asked Lloyd to fill in certain "blanks relating to comparative population, areas and death rates."

Loyal Mr. Lloyd, busy as he was, dutifully filled in the blanks in her manuscript and sent it to Gompers in April. But in doing so he commented: "It is incomprehensible to me how a woman of Miss Willard's intelligence, who publicly calls herself a socialist, can reach the conclusion that overpopulation is the crucial difficulty with England. Why then is not Ireland prosperous? Its population has declined roughly from 8,000,000 to 4,000,000 during the reign of Queen Victoria." Gompers was in full accord with this sentiment but replied (April 5, 1894): "Any contribution from the pen of Miss Willard is interesting and will aid in giving our magazine a wide circle of readers."

Whatever influence the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had in the early labor movement lay primarily in the propaganda value of its public pronouncements. As Miss Willard herself expressed it, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had learned much of the interlacing relationships of these two great reforms—labor and temperance. She claimed that its declarations had won an army of allies and that it had been instrumental in bringing the labor movement to the attention of a myriad of good people, who, finding it commended in the columns of a temperance periodical, were more favorably impressed by its claims than they would have been by seeing it in the political journals of the day.[16]

Not all labor leaders were so devoted to the temperance movement as was Powderly. Moreover, leadership of the labor movement in the early nineties passed from the Knights of Labor to the American Federation of Labor under Samuel Gompers. It was in-

evitable that a dual objective would not be maintained by two mass movements like labor and temperance. The loose alliance of the eighties proved short-lived. While the alliance remained in vogue, no one exceeded Frances Willard in the sincere esteem and admiration of the Knights of Labor. Indeed, at the time of her fifty-fifth birthday celebration (1894) at the Temple in Chicago the *Inter-Ocean* (September 29) related that Mr. H. Madden, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, paid "the tribute of honor and love to the woman who struck from millions the shackles forged of rum." And an editorial in the national official publication of the Knights of Labor declared that no woman in America had done more or better work in the reform field than had she, not only in the cause of temperance but in the elevation of mankind in every way. "Knights of Labor everywhere extend her hearty congratulations, and are second to none in the high regard in which they hold her."[17]

CHAPTER XVI

Peace and Arbitration

FRANCES WILLARD was not a fanatic who promised the millennium upon the achievement of a single reform. No one excelled her in sincere devotion to the cause of temperance. But, on the other hand, temperance was not in her mind the solitary virtue that would render the children of God worthy of their Creator. The broadness of her intellectual horizon led her to champion many reforms other than abstinence from alcohol, every one of which was aimed at the betterment of mankind. It is thus not surprising to find that she enthusiastically supported the peace movement and even sought to associate this cause with the crusade for temperance. This maneuver, however, was not unique. As early as 1864 William Randal Cremer in England attempted to identify the peace movement with trade-unionism. In 1887 Samuel Gompers endeavored to connect peace with the labor cause in America.[1]

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw a resurgence of the peace movement both in America and in Europe that was truly remarkable. It was not a rebirth of pacifism but rather a realistic awakening to the horrors of the battlefield, accompanied by an attempt to solve the problem of war through a program of enlightened statesmanship. The early peace societies, like the Massachusetts Peace Society, organized in 1815, had emphasized the wickedness of war without making a serious study of the causes of war or the means of its prevention. Later, Elihu Burritt, William Ladd, H. C. Carey, William Jay, and David Dudley Field proposed political and economic means for the prevention of war. In England, Richard Cobden, William Randal Cremer, and W. T. Stead moved in the same direction. In 1879 Cremer changed the name of his International Workingmen's Peace Association to the International Arbitration League. The change in name was significant.

As a step toward the universal banishment of war, peace societies now began vigorous campaigns in favor of the adoption of arbitration treaties by the government of every power. It was a positive, rather than a negative, program; and, being positive, it was dynamic.

Under the leadership of Cremer, peace societies now offered international arbitration as the universal preventive for war. As a member of the British Parliament, Cremer dreamed of a united effort by parliamentarians in all countries in the interest of international arbitration. In 1887 he secured the signatures of 232 members of the British Parliament to a petition calling for the negotiation of an Anglo-American arbitration treaty. Before the year expired, Andrew Carnegie and other peace leaders presented this memorial to President Cleveland at the White House. This was not the end of Cremer's parliamentary activities. As early as 1874, Edward Lowenthal in Berlin had called for a conference of members of all parliamentary bodies in the interest of peace. Again it was Cremer who, in 1889, succeeded in convening the first Inter-parliamentary Conference, which met in Paris, with members of the British Parliament, the American Congress, and the legislatures of Italy, Spain, Denmark, Belgium, Hungary, and Liberia in attendance. It was the forerunner of the Inter-parliamentary Union, which has played a not insignificant part in the prevention of war in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

The year 1889 was also remarkable for the birth of the Universal Peace Congress, which held its first meeting in Paris preceding the initial gathering of the Inter-parliamentary Union. Indeed, there was a deliberate connection between the two groups. Cremer fully intended that the Universal Peace Congress would bombard governments by public opinion to inject arbitration as a fundamental rule in the constitution of every state in the world. At the same time, the members of the Inter-parliamentary Union would assail their governments from within for the very same purpose.

Frances Willard identified the Woman's Christian Temperance Union with the peace movement in 1887. The decision upon this strategic move was taken partly under the persuasion of Alfred H. Love, president of the Universal Peace Union, which had been founded in 1866 at Providence, Rhode Island. In her presidential address to the national convention of the W.C.T.U. in 1887, Miss

Willard made an adroit appeal for the mergence of the temperance cause with the peace movement. Nothing, she declared, would set back the temperance program more disastrously than the outbreak of war, and yet nothing tended so much toward a war as intemperance. Hence women must organize for peace in order to insure that "nations will learn war no more."[2]

Further to capture the support of the women for this new adventure, she commandeered as guest speaker for the convention, William Jones of London, secretary of the British Peace Society. Mr. Jones was conveniently in this country at the time and well publicized in the press as a member of the Parliamentary Peace Commission, which came with a memorial to President Cleveland asking for a permanent arbitration treaty between the two nations.[3] Miss Willard's appeal to the women was crowned with success. At her insistence, the Nashville convention set up a new department of the Union called "Peace and Arbitration." Over this department she appointed an energetic superintendent, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, of Winthrop Centre, Maine.

Within a year Miss Willard was made a vice-president of the Universal Peace Union. This honorary office she continued to hold for the remainder of her life. But it was no honorary interest she held in the peace society. Her active sympathy with the organization she proclaimed in an open letter to the *Peacemaker* (August, 1889), official publication of the Universal Peace Union:

May 8, 1889

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF THE PEACE UNION:

Your holy warfare with weapons spiritual engages my most exalted enthusiasm. No atmosphere is so near heaven as that of peace. Its sworn foes are intemperance and impurity, the two serpents whose coils enfold our colossal young hercules, the great Republic.

White Ribbon women, in ten thousand local W.C.T.Unions are battling with the sword of the spirit and the honest hard work of hand, heart, and brains to kill these serpents and bring peace to homes and native land, in the name of Him who is the Prince of Peace. What wonder then that we are with you heart and soul in your divine endeavor—how could we be otherwise?

We rejoice that your Amanda Deyo is ours also—a chosen delegate from us to the World's Peace Congress, and to any other great meeting of the faithful across the sea; and that our Hannah J. Bailey is yours—that noble

White Ribbon Superintendent of the Peace Department of the National W.C.T.U. God grant that the White Ribbon may yet rein in and guide the champing steeds of civilization!

Yours for universal brotherhood,

FRANCES E. WILLARD

With unstinted praise the Universal Peace Union welcomed the co-operation of Frances Willard and her extensive organization. Especially did the peace leaders value the work of the Union in organizing the children for peace. It was soon universally recognized that no other society working for peace had so successfully organized the children or so effectively instructed them. Indeed, so thorough became the work of the Union for peace that Alfred H. Love, president of the Universal Peace Union, declared: "The peace department of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, though only one of the phases of the work carried on by this great organization of women, is really one of the strongest and most influential of our peace organizations."[4]

Although peace congresses were held at irregular intervals from the early part of the nineteenth century on, there was a resurgence of interest in such conclaves in the late eighties. Under the stimulus of the Universal Peace Union began the series of peace conferences the first of which was held at the Paris Exposition in 1889. To the invitation to send a delegate to this first International Peace Conference of the period, Frances Willard eagerly responded. She named two delegates: the Rev. Amanda Deyo of New York and Mrs. Dr. R. H. Thomas of Baltimore. Participation in such a dramatic event immediately strengthened the interest of the Union in the peace movement.

In addressing the Congress, Mrs. Deyo began with the following interesting words: "I have the honor to bear to you the greetings of that immense body of women, known as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with that born diplomat at its head, Frances E. Willard." While Mrs. Deyo spoke for the national Union, Mrs. Thomas more particularly represented the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. There were few women delegates to this congress, and it was feared by some that they might be ignored. But, on the contrary, they were given a welcome and an honored position, which was the envy of many men. The emphasis of the proceedings was upon arbitration. The thought was that arbitra-

tion should be not only a part of the constitution of every state but also an obligatory part of all future treaties.

The following year the Universal Peace Congress was held in London, and again Miss Willard co-operated by sending a representative. This time she named Mrs. Sarah W. Collins of New York as delegate. Mrs. Collins was the New York State superintendent for the department of peace and arbitration of the Union. She, too, was cordially accepted by the Peace Congress. The London meeting was an even more spectacular convocation of peace than that in Paris. Fifty-eight peace societies were represented. The prophetic delegates adopted a series of resolutions which even today sound liberal.[5]

The reports of these delegates of the W.C.T.U. to their membership stirred the women to action. It gave the magic touch to a new endeavor, which otherwise in competition with older departments might have enlisted little sympathy. Miss Willard's flair for the spectacular and her keen sense of publicity values had lifted the new department to a secure basis. Once aroused, the women eagerly established departments of peace and arbitration in their state and local Unions. The movement grew.

The work of the Union for peace took two main channels: one was on the international level and directed through the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union; the other was on the national level and directed through the state and local Unions. The more integrated effort was the latter. The world Union was only getting organized, and, furthermore, spread out as it was over many lands, it lacked the cohesive leadership which characterized the Union in the United States.

The plan of action of the peace and arbitration department of the national Union was typical of that of the other departments. Speakers were enlisted, pamphlets and printed matter circulated, co-operation of sister-organizations encouraged, and, lastly, the well-known device of petitions and pressure utilized. One of their best speakers was Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge. Even as early as the autumn of 1888 she spoke continually in the area of Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Kentucky. Miss Willard herself emphasized peace in almost every national address that she made. By the end of the first year, twelve state Unions had organized peace departments.[6]

The amount of printed material circulated by the national department of peace and arbitration was quite sizable, especially considering the period and that there were forty other departments of work. Two publications were established: the *Pacific Banner* for adults and the *Acorn* for children. These periodicals were devoted entirely to the discussion of peace. In the single year of 1888 the peace department distributed 4,500 Bible readings, 2,500 leaflets on peace subjects, and 16,000 leaflets for children. The following year, however, 5,000 calendars were distributed illustrating the story of peace and war. These were placed in railroad stations, post offices, business offices, and public buildings. A hundred thousand leaflets were sent to the World Exposition in Paris for free distribution there. By the end of the year 1889 seven additional state unions had added the peace department to their work, bringing the total to nineteen states. Hereafter, other states, to the number of twenty-six, rapidly added the department.

The co-operation of sister-organizations and the open support of distinguished persons gave further impetus to the rapidly growing sentiment of the women for peace. For the great international conclave of women held in Washington in the early spring of 1888, Miss Willard had asked the Universal Peace Union to send delegates. To this they responded by sending five representatives. Miss Willard and a handful of her closest friends gave further impetus to this friendship by themselves speaking on peace and arbitration. Their very names—Clara Barton, Julia Ward Howe, Mary Livermore, and M. Louise Thomas—added luster to the new movement. Thus was forged the link between the Peace Union and the woman's organizations.

Furthermore, the National Council of Women, which was the outgrowth of this convention, lent admirable support to the cause. Not only was Frances Willard the first president but she influenced its policy for some years to come through her friends who succeeded to office. By 1897 this prominent national organization adopted a resolution in full support of the peace movement. Dr. Anna Shaw was then vice-president, and Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, national superintendent of the peace and arbitration department of the Union, was treasurer. Both were staunch friends of Frances Willard, and both staunch advocates of peace. At the Nashville meeting of the Council (October 27, 1897) the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States accepts the peace flag and adopts the same for use as the emblem of universal peace, of the universal brotherhood of man and for international co-operation and work.

MARY LOVE DICKINSON, *President*
REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *Vice-president*
AMELINE BURLINGSGAME CHENEY, *1st Recording Secretary*
HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, *2d Recording Secretary*
HANNAH J. BAILEY, *Treasurer*

Thus did Miss Willard swing the National Council of Women alongside the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the cause of peace and arbitration.

Several years previously (1895) the Countess of Aberdeen, through the influence of Frances Willard, spoke before the National Council of Women in the interest of peace. The charm and prestige of this Englishwoman made many converts. Her words of wisdom won many others.

Of the many methods pursued by the Union, that of petition and pressure was the most successful. After all, this was a technique at which the women had become proficient. Nearly every year after the adoption of the new department of peace and arbitration a petition was sent to Congress praying for arbitral settlement of disputes. In 1890 they presented a petition to Congress asking that no more naval vessels be built, as such ships were a menace to peace. The women pressed for this petition by urging the members of the local Unions to write their congressmen for support. The following year, on December 3, 1891, the Union sent a petition to the Senate, signed by Frances Willard herself, asking for the establishment of a board of arbitration. It read:

We your petitioners, representing the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union now organized in nearly forty different countries, and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union organized in the forty-four states and all the territories of the nation except Utah and Alaska, and representing a following of more than half a million of women and homes devoted to the uplift of humanity, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable body to provide for boards of arbitration by which all difficulties within our borders, or with other nations, shall be settled without going to war. We do this as representatives of the homes and womanhood not only of our own nation, but of the world, and beseech you by the

knowledge of the suffering that women and children have endured because of this great evil to defend us by your votes in the high representative capacity to which you have been called, and in the love of God and of humanity we rest our case with you.[7]

This was one of their more unusual petitions because it represented both the world and the national Union. It was, furthermore, a humanitarian plea based on God and home and native land.

Again in this same year of 1891 the women memorialized the Senate to ratify the treaty submitted by the Brussels Conference of Nations. The memorial itself was an omnibus document inasmuch as it included five requests. Among these was the proposal to exclude liquor and abolish slavery from those portions of Africa where it still existed. And it also asked that all difficulties within our border, or with other nations, be settled by arbitration.

The following year, without surcease of effort or flagging enthusiasm, the women sent another petition to Washington. This was perhaps their most publicized petition. It concerned the unhappy controversy with Chile, which assumed angry proportions when the small neighbor-state became truculent. For a short time war seemed imminent. Frances Willard, alarmed, sent a telegram to President Harrison urging arbitration. As recorded in the press, the telegram read:

The National Christian Temperance Union with a membership of 200,000 and a direct following in the homes of this land of not fewer than half a million has always been devoted in its patriotism, loyalty and believes in "Peace on earth, good will to men."

For years, we have, through a national department organized for that purpose, worked actively to inculcate principles and practices whenever we have the power to do so. At our recent Convention in Boston we authorized a memorial to our government asking that "all differences within our borders or with other nations might be settled by arbitration." We also urged that this great nation should not go to war with Chile. This status and action of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is brought to the notice of the president that we may thank him for patience with the distressed and distressing little Republic, whose barbarous treatment of our sailors, will, we hope, be made the subject of an arbitration.[8]

Miss Willard was able to pull along with her on this protest the National Council of Women. The welcomed support of this organization was pledged to her in the following telegram (January

21, 1892) by May Wright Sewall: "As President of the Woman's National Council I heartily join you in your protest to President Harrison against war with Chile." The National Council of Women was composed of representatives from national organizations, so that a large number of national groups was thus indirectly committed to the protest. Each of these national groups filtered out into its local constituencies so that the sum total of women represented by Mrs. Sewall's telegram must have equaled, if not exceeded, the number represented by Miss Willard and the Union.

This effort was implemented by Mrs. Bailey, national superintendent of the peace and arbitration department and also superintendent of the same department in the world Union, who visited President Harrison. She was accompanied by Mrs. La Fetra, president of the Washington W.C.T.U., and Representative Doan of Ohio. Mrs. Bailey presented to the President a request signed by herself as world W.C.T.U. superintendent of the department of peace and arbitration, and Frances Willard as world W.C.T.U. president, urging him to exert his great influence to avert the impending war by arbitration. This visit was supported by a large number of telegrams to President Harrison from state presidents of the Union and state superintendents of the department of peace and arbitration.

Even the Universal Peace Union was impressed by this array of strength of the womanhood of the nation. It officially commented that a "magnificent protest of five hundred thousand Christian women had been sent by the W.C.T.U. to the President when the War Department was rubbing its gun against Chile." The peace society hastened at this time to point out that it was the splendid work of the units on all such critical occasions which had produced the long list of peaceful arbitrations between the United States and other countries and which had now added up to some forty important cases.[9]

Within two years our peace was again threatened. This time it was the startling dispute with Great Britain over the Venezuelan boundary affair. President Cleveland utilized this occasion to implement the fading prestige of the Monroe Doctrine and belligerently declared this unilateral doctrine as international law. To Frances Willard this claim meant the beating of tom-toms for war. She at once braced herself for action. A petition for settlement of

the dispute by arbitration was hurriedly prepared and sent to Washington. The document was introduced in the House of Representatives by Nelson Dingley of Maine.[10] State and local unions were urged to send resolutions to their respective congressmen. As a further token of their feeling for arbitration, the following resolution was adopted at the annual meeting of the Union that autumn (1886):

> Religion, humanity, and justice as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations.

The Bering Sea controversy, although a matter of less urgency, had been resolved by arbitration several years before. Hence all these successes for arbitration brought jubilation to the members of the Universal Peace Union. The Bering Sea and Venezuelan victories were considered by the Peace Union as special triumphs for the peace societies.[11] Moreover, with the Venezuelan affair a general arbitration treaty with Great Britain was introduced into the Senate. This was in line with what the peace societies had long been advocating, and they promptly claimed the credit. The defeat of this treaty was a keen disappointment to Frances Willard. In her presidential address to the Union of this year (1897) she stated that the greatest sorrow of the year to most of them was the defeat of the arbitration treaty with England. Although the peace advocates had forty-three senators voting "Yes" on the treaty, they were unable to secure the necessary two-thirds majority. They lacked three votes.

Another channel which Miss Willard followed in the interest of peace was organized opposition to military drill in the schools. She felt this had an unwholesome psychological influence on American boys and that it tended to make them war-minded. In its place she advocated systematic moral training, which would develop patriotism as well as a love of peace and world co-operation. To her the bayonet was the weapon of savagery; the only means for a peaceful world was education and the ballot. She induced the women in the national convention of the Union to pass resolutions from time to time indorsing this view. Petitions, accordingly, were dutifully sent to Congress. The leader was equally caustic in her disapproval of cadet clubs in the churches and Sunday schools.

This opposition to military training was not a new idea. The Universal Peace Union had adopted a resolution at the London Congress (1890) condemning the practice. This peace plank, however, gained emphasis and publicity through the Union.

How effective the National Union was in the cause of peace is difficult to evaluate. The Universal Peace Union fervently believed that the peace societies working together had accomplished the peaceful settlement of all those irritating difficulties of the eighties and nineties. Furthermore, they were generous with their praise of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and called it the most effective peace unit in the land.

The international work for peace was carried on through the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Although organized in 1883, the first meeting was not held until 1891. But at this first meeting the department of peace and arbitration was established. Thus it was one of the earliest departments of the world Union. The department was placed under the experienced direction of Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, whose remarkable leadership of the similar department in the national Union had produced such celebrated results. The world Union, however, was less able to render the same effective work because of its larger geographic field and the smaller, less cohesive organization. Nevertheless, the world Union was considered the largest international organization of women in the world during the century.

From its very inception in 1883 the world Union was dedicated to peace. Frances Willard had said at the beginning that by such an organization the whole world would be brought together into a universal sisterhood, which would help prepare the way for the federation of all nations and all peoples.[12]

The method of work followed the same general pattern as that in the national Union. Each country had a national superintendent of the department of peace and arbitration, and each superintendent worked out her own plans under the general direction of the world's superintendent, Mrs. Bailey. But, as the state superintendents of each department of the national Union had considerable elasticity in planning their own work, so did the national superintendents in the world Union.

In Canada a strong department of peace and arbitration was a part of the work of the W.C.T.U. It had been created in 1891 and

placed under the supervision of Mrs. Mary McDonell, to whom the peace and arbitration department of the world Union meant a close bond of friendship between the women of all nations. And out of this bond was to grow the idea of international arbitration of all differences between nations. The mothers of the world, working together, she thought, would be able to overthrow the whole hated system of militarism.[13]

In distant Palestine Miss Etta H. Johnston presided over the department of peace and arbitration of the W.C.T.U. Her work was unique in that she had a children's band for peace as well as an active adult group. Thus, around the world the women were organized for peace. In Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, India, Italy, and nearly every land the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union carried on for peace.

The peace work in all these countries was tied together by the superintendent of the department of the world Union. She sent to each national department programs of activity and literature. In accord with the Universal Peace Union, the world Union adopted the third Sunday in December as "Peace Day." This gave each local Union throughout the world an opportunity on that day to arrange for peace sermons to be preached in its local community and for appropriate publicity in its local newspapers. The cumulative effect of such publicity helped to mold the temper of great masses of people for peace, which began to bear fruit even before World War I.

The greatest single factor in the work of the world Union for peace was that of the "Polyglot Petition." This world-wide petition for God and home and every land was called the "Magna Charta of the home." The petition was the great weapon which Frances Willard had early discovered as a powerful and effective force in legislative tribunals. She estimated that the W.C.T.U. had circulated, in a period of twenty years, petitions with signatures aggregating some fifteen or twenty million names. "We are therefore veterans in our knowledge of petition work, and for this reason are perfectly aware that the best outcome of such undertakings is the agitation and consequent education that come to those who affix their signatures or who by resolutions make the prayer of the petition their own," declared Frances Willard.[14]

Although the Polyglot Petition was basically for the protection

of the home in every land, its effect was to draw women together. It presented a common goal and a common purpose. It was concrete and tangible. The appeal to the home touched all women everywhere and made them feel akin. And by the act of signing the petition women everywhere felt psychologically that they had joined a world movement. The symbol was effective.

In many respects the contributions that Miss Willard made to the peace movement were among the most outstanding achievements of her career. Her temperance crusade was not limited to the war on alcohol. It was a broad program designed to awaken women to the realities of the world in which they lived. In her advocacy of arbitration and peace, as in her support of labor, Frances Willard hoped to lead her sisters to an ever increasing understanding of politics and sociology to the end that they might eventually serve as effective citizens of the world. In this respect Miss Willard and the W.C.T.U. under her leadership was the forerunner of the League of Women Voters (founded in 1920). The later organization led women to study the political and social problems of the day and to express a collective opinion for desirable reforms. The W.C.T.U. under Miss Willard began this same undertaking. Her crusade for peace was one of the most farsighted and statesman-like of her many educational campaigns.

CHAPTER XVII

Clubs and Organizations

WOMEN of America became group-conscious in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Woman's clubs and societies of all kinds suddenly sprang up in the cities and towns of every state. This spontaneous outburst of organizational activities stemmed directly from the woman's movement and, in turn, immensely promoted the woman's movement.

Frances Willard knew how to press every advantage out of organization. She herself belonged to numerous societies and in large measure achieved her effectiveness through their agency. In the seventies she joined Sorosis, the Association for the Advancement of Women, the American Suffrage Association, and the Alpha Phi sorority. As her prestige and fame widened in the eighties, so did her participation in various other societies. When her friends, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith and Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, organized the Illinois Press Club in 1886, she promptly became a charter member. Both of these women were active in the Chicago Woman's Club, serving as president (the former 1879–81 and the latter 1892–94), and both belonged to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Two years later Mary Allen West, editor of the *Union Signal* (official publication of the Union), was elected president of the Illinois Press Club, which tightened the bonds between the Union and this new organization. Many of the women who held key positions in the newer organizations of women in the latter part of the century were women who also held a prominent place in the Union. They had secured their training under Frances Willard. For over a decade there was not an important woman's convention that did not include the participation of Frances Willard or prominent members of the Union. The Union was the most effective society in the land, and its members were always counted upon for insuring the success of an important conclave.

Miss Willard used these women's societies for promoting all sorts

of social reforms. She found excellent support in the Chicago Woman's Club for her endeavor to place police matrons in the jails and stations. The most active women in the club were her close friends, which no doubt accounted for her membership in it, as at that time it was only a literary society. Under date of May 10, 1882, their *Annals* reported that the only departure from their literary work had been the resolution passed a short time before indorsing the effort to place women in police stations.[1] The support of the Woman's Club greatly heartened Miss Willard, for the idea of the police matron was not popular in the beginning. The Woman's Club paid for a night matron, while the local Union paid for a day matron, in one of the Chicago stations. It was several years before the city was sufficiently impressed with the results to assume the financial responsibility of this important work.

Frances Willard used the rising popularity of the clubs as another link in her woman's movement. Her most far-reaching affiliation was that of the National Council of Clubs. This organization was the outgrowth of that famous international convention which met in 1888, the International Council of Women. Frances Willard and the Union took the leading part at this great conclave of representative women from all over the world. Nothing so clearly exemplifies the commanding position of the Union at that time as the leadership it took in this convention. The meeting was planned and arranged by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association as a celebration of the first suffrage meeting held at Seneca, New York, in 1848. Its purpose was to provide an interchange of opinions on the great questions then before women.

The International Council convened on March 25, 1888, and lasted eight days. Fifty-three organizations of women were represented, and delegates came from England, France, Norway, Denmark, Finland, India, and Canada. The broad program which had been carefully worked out provided for such subjects as education, philanthropies, temperance, industries, professions, organization, legal conditions, social purity, political conditions, and religion. This was a wide compass and reflects the aroused interest of the more progressive women of the decade. Such an inclusive program, however, could not be carried alone by Miss Anthony or Mrs. Stanton, who had rarely participated in any movement other than that of

suffrage. Only one woman had delved into the various social movements of the day and thus knew something of the problems to be discussed. That woman was Frances Willard. Although Miss Anthony presided at most of the sessions and Mrs. Stanton gave the opening and closing address, the weight of the convention fell to Frances Willard. Ably supporting her were a number of women whom she had trained and developed in the Union.

Of the fifteen sessions, which presented one hundred and ten speakers representing the fifty-three organizations participating, twenty-eight speakers were members of the Union, or about one-fourth of the time was taken either by Frances Willard or by her colleagues of the W.C.T.U. She herself spoke on five different programs, which made her the headline speaker of the convention. Among the other distinguished women present who were prominent members of the Union were Dr. Anna Shaw, Mary Livermore, Zerelda G. Wallace, Jennie Fowler Willing, Dr. Rena A. Michaels, Pundita Ramabai, Matilda B. Carse, J. Ellen Foster, Mary H. Hunt, and Elizabeth Boynton Harbert. It was the appearance of Dr. Shaw on the platform at this convention which brought her to the attention of Susan B. Anthony and into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Considering the number of foreign delegates and organizations represented, the Union carried off the honors of the convention. No one other person was before the council as often as Frances Willard, and no other society had as many members on the program. It may be said that the Union reached its flood tide of popularity and prestige at this great international caucus of women. The clubs were not yet sufficiently organized to take a leading part, nor were other women's societies strong enough to give substantial help in such a conclave.

The leading position of Frances Willard in this remarkable assembly led to her appointment as chairman of a committee of fifteen to draft plans for both a permanent International Council and a permanent National Council. In addition, therefore, to the five addresses Frances Willard made to the convention, she carried the responsibility of organizing the permanent structure of both councils. Among those working with her on this committee were Mary Eastman, Mary Wright Sewall, and Clara Barton.

The constitution of the National Council of Women provided for triennial meetings and the International Council of Women for

quinquennial meetings. The preamble of each was the same and quite in the style of Frances Willard:

> We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law.

The first line of this was changed for the International Council to read "women of all nations." Frances Willard was elected the president of the Woman's National Council, and Millicent Garrett Fawcett of England was elected president of the International Council. So well did Miss Willard lay the foundation for both councils that they are flourishing societies today.

The election of Miss Willard as the first president of the National Council of Women gave her added recognition as a distinguished leader of women. The Council represented all woman's organizations. It was an effort to cement the awakened and surging interest of women in various fields of activity. No woman in America had done so much to arouse women to consciousness as had she, nor was any woman more interested in so many different activities as she. Touching the periphery of more circles of women than anyone else, she commanded the confidence of a greater number of women in all phases of the woman's movement than anyone else in the century. The election to the presidency merely gave greater emphasis to her widespread prestige and leadership.

Miss Willard, however, was much too busy to lift the Council as she had the Union. She made gallant plans for the Council but was too involved in politics, church matters, suffrage, reforms, writing, speaking, and the executive routine of the Union to devote the time and energy needed to the Council. Her great plan was patterned somewhat after the Union which had been so eminently successful. The local clubs of a community were to organize a council, which, in turn, would send representatives to a state council, and this, in turn, would send representation to the National Council. While the wisdom of this plan might be questioned for a federated society composed of delegates from national organizations, it did offer an effective network of associations.

Eager to put her plan into execution, she called such a council meeting in Chicago, on October 4, 1888, at the Chicago Woman's Club. Seventy societies responded. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (October, 5, 1888) gave an account of the meeting and stated that Frances Willard was elected president. The association was called the Woman's League. The movement spread. Within a month the Kansas Council of Women was organized. The initiative was taken by Mrs. Laura M. Johns, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. L. H. Rastall, president of the state W.C.T.U.[2]

In her address organizing the Woman's League of Chicago, Miss Willard said that by organization the cobweb of ignorance would be swept away by their mutual knowledge and the horizon of the heart would be grandly widened. She told them that now the united wisdom and work of the women of Chicago would be bent toward sanitary conditions in the homes of the poor, more light and heat in their dwellings, better diet, and general living improvement. Other reforms she expected them to be interested in were the kindergarten in the public school and a larger scope for women in every field of labor, as well as in the church. She hoped that the impact of the federation for social welfare would soon bring about amelioration of the worst conditions in each community.

Speaking before the national convention of the Union that autumn (1888), she asked for their approval in committing the organization to membership in the National Council of Women. She explained that Ohio had already formed a state council and that Chicago had done the same thing locally. "As president of the National Council," she said, "I come unto my own today and ask them to stand by me. Let us become an auxiliary, and so set a keynote loud enough to be heard the world around." She explained to her legions that the success or failure of the Council would largely depend upon the co-operation of the Union. It was, in fact, the pioneering work of the Union in the past decade, she pointed out, which had made possible this great federation. The women loyally gave her the support she asked and formally joined the National Council of Women, thus assuring its permanence and success. Miss Willard called it the greatest movement ever undertaken by women.

In October, 1888, the leader assumed yet another responsibility. She was elected national president of the Alpha Phi sorority. This was one more contact with womankind in America. Although the

women realized that she would devote little time to the presidential duties, they held it glory enough just to have her occupy the position.[3] Her sorority affiliation, however, was of a social nature and hence did not readily lend itself as a medium for social and welfare service as did the other organizations to which she belonged.

The instant success of the National Council of Women gave Sorosis the idea of forming a federation of clubs. The clubs did not participate in the Council, as they were not then unified into a national organization. Hence Sorosis was the only club which was a member of the Council. As the year 1889 marked the twenty-first anniversary of its founding, it was thought a fitting time to attempt federation. Accordingly, invitations were sent to ninety-seven clubs, including the Union. Of this number, sixty-one accepted. Frances Willard was an old member of Sorosis and their subsidiary, the Association for the Advancement of Women. Now, as national president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Council of Women, and the Alpha Phi sorority, her name held added importance. She was among the interesting women, therefore, who attended this notable meeting.

Did she expect to pluck the chief prize of this convention, too? Many delegates there would have liked to have made her president of the General Federation of Clubs, but, on the other hand, there was a number of contestants who clamored for the honor. The curious part was that the bylaws of the federation, drawn up at this first meeting, excluded any organization primarily organized as a reform society. Was this provision made to eliminate Frances Willard from further participation? Were some of the women afraid of her competition, or were they merely anxious, now that the clubs were getting well under way, to emphasize identity of interest? Whatever the reason, it was a keen disappointment to her. Of course, the clubs were only one section of the woman's movement and at that time in no way comparable to the National Council of Women, which took in all national woman's organizations.

Another organization to which Miss Willard belonged, albeit of a somewhat different classification, was the American Social Science Association. She was a member from 1886 to 1892, when she went abroad. In 1887 she addressed the association on "Woman and the Temperance Question." This was a unique honor, for she presented a reformer's theme before a learned group of men and wom-

en, and only a woman of distinction would have been so honored by this association. The importance of it was that here again she touched shoulders with a different set of men and women, and she told them something of the accomplishments of the W.C.T.U. in the brief period of its organization. She reported:

> The International Sunday School Convention in 1881 took action to print a quarterly temperance lesson in the international series. Now eight million Sunday School children have temperance instruction. In 1882, the first scientific temperance instruction-law was adopted by Vermont. Now twenty-two states and nine territories study hygiene with special emphasis upon temperance and narcotics as taught by legal enactment. By 1886, the scientific temperance law was extended to all territories, the Military Academy at West Point, the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and wherever any school receives funds from the United States Treasury. Six millions of children are thereby placed under temperance instruction.
>
> The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union now carries forty distinct lines of work. It is the eighth society ever composed exclusively of women and conducted entirely by them.[4]

During the eighties Miss Willard joined such diverse societies as the Universal Peace Union and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Another society in which she took a deep interest, although she could devote little time to it, was the Daughters of the American Revolution. She was a charter member of the national association, being registered as No. 243 on April 16, 1891. Although a charter member of the Chicago chapter, she later transferred her membership to the Fort Dearborn chapter of Evanston when it was organized. Always she was proud of her Colonial lineage and the fact that she was descended from that rugged Puritan, Simon Willard.

In 1887 she became president of the American branch of the International Temperance Society. Little is known of this organization, which seems to have received scant attention in this country. It was first organized about 1884. The honor, however, was by no means an empty one, although it is doubtful if Miss Willard devoted much time to it. All such connection increased her ever widening influence.

Under the weight of multiple activities, Frances Willard endeavored as best she could to complete the organizing of the National Council of Women. The criticism of her two-year presidency

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Washington, D. C., April 16, 1891

Miss Francis E. Willard

MADAM:—

I have the honor to inform you that your application for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution has been accepted by the Board of Management, and that your name may be placed upon the list of charter members.

Very respectfully yours,

Mary S. Lockwood
Secretary General.

National No. 243

MEMBERSHIP CARD IN THE D.A.R.

is shown in an upbraiding letter from Susan B. Anthony (January 18, 1890):

> We are doing nothing—I am sorry to say—and that for the reason you seem to see—that each woman whose name is on our Council Board, has a special work to which she gives her entire time, body and soul to say nothing of brains and cash!!
>
> I agonized over our doing nothing last summer and now see no hope of even a meeting of the Board, until the time of our suffrage March Convention, a month hence when I hope all the members of both the national and the international councils will be present—for we really ought to plan to do something during this year of 1892. And our National Constitution requires a National Council in 1891—and the National Council would invite the International Council to call a Council in this country in 1892 instead of 1893 as the committee plans.[5]

So steeped was Miss Willard in her own plan of organization, which had proved highly effective in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, that she thought only in this pattern. A council which is a federation of national woman's societies is hardly adaptable to the hierarchic system. As has been stated, her plan was that miniature councils should be organized in town and city, which should confederate into a state council. The state council would send delegates to the national council, which should form a lower chamber. Two delegates from each national society would form an upper chamber. Plans and policies of the council would then be submitted to a concurrent vote of both chambers. The advantage of this system was that it would give representation to various local groups otherwise inarticulate. On the other hand, its aims would be so far-reaching and its plan so unique as in no way to encroach upon the local work of any society. The twofold basis of such a plan was to provide a mobile organization which could be effective on any level of government and an organization which would include as many women as possible. This plan met with opposition by some of the members of the National Council. Antoinette Brown Blackwell presented the opposition quite clearly in a long letter, written February 14, 1891:

> A Federation has no auxiliaries. That word, that thought, and practical details suggested by it, can find no place in the policy of a body made up of independent organizations banded together for federative purposes. The Federation must have a province and a work assigned to it by its constit-

uent members; thus, in my opinion, they all must endorse its line of action and be held responsible for it to that extent. They need not endorse each other's society methods or work; but their common status and limitations in the Federation must be settled by mutual agreement.

Individuals, especially if appointed for that purpose, may wisely plan the scheme of Federation, submitting it to the several societies of their representatives, but, in the nature of the case, they alone can have authority to accept, reject or modify at their discretion. But this can apply fully only while the organization is incomplete! Once organized the Federation must have power to receive or reject new members and must be supreme within its own province.

Now, dear friend, to apply these principles to the National Council. If the Council proposes to be little more than a triennial Convention, it may not be important in what way its Executive Committee is appointed. But if that Committee—virtually always in session—proposes to lay its organic hand heavily upon wrong whenever and wherever wise opportunity is found, then the several modes by which its different officers are elected, becomes of the utmost importance. It is just here that the wisest application of real democracy becomes essential.

Perhaps it is needless to make any further suggestions. But to my apprehension, a National Society President—however brilliant as a presiding officer, however effective as a leader and worker in her own organization, especially when her hands are once full already—is not so obviously an adequate representative of the constituents that it is wise to organically constitute her the only permanent link which binds her entire organization to the Federation. At any rate, the attention of the federating societies should be especially directed both to the exact limit and nature of their representation; and to the character of the work which the Federation as such proposes to itself through its executive committee.

Wishing you and the Federation the highest success and regretting that it does not seem possible for me to be at the Council,

Yours very sincerely,

ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL

On the back of this letter Frances Willard wrote, "Read as embodying conservative views." Yet the letter in no way diverted her from her original plan, as she explained her views of local councils with great eloquence at the first meeting of the National Council held in Washington, D.C., late in February, 1891.

By her organization Miss Willard hoped to secure locally the united effort of all woman's associations for placing women on school committees, library associations, hospitals, and similar

public boards. She also envisioned delegations of lobbyists at every legislature, seeking advantages for women. The influence and effectiveness of these delegations, therefore, would be implemented by the strength of interlocking national societies. By such consolidated effort she hoped to secure beneficent legislation as protecting the married woman's property rights, equality with her husband over their children, the inclusion of the kindergarten as part of the public school system, and some kind of regulation of hours and wages.[6] If her dream could have been carried out, the progress of women would have been immeasurably increased. At the same time it ran counter to the fundamental plan of the Council, as was pointed out by Antoinette Blackwell, which was a federation of national societies.

The most significant accomplishment of the Council under the administration of Frances Willard was its part in the Woman's Congress at the World's Fair of 1893. Through her foresight the secretary of the National Council of Women sent a telegram to the Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition at their first meeting, November 19, 1890, inviting the board to send a delegate to the Council convening at Washington in February. Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles M. Henrotin, the president and vice-president of the Board of Lady Managers, both agreed to go as delegates. They presented their plan for a World's Congress of Representative Women so admirably that the Council voted to recommend to its sister-society, the International Council of Women, that they hold in Chicago their quinquennial meeting, which was scheduled for London in 1893.

The World's Congress of Representative Women was an auxiliary to the Board of Lady Managers. Mrs. Palmer was president of both. On the committee, working with Mrs. Palmer, was Frances Willard, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. May Wright Sewell, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery. This Congress of Women was the most important part of the program for women during the entire Exposition. The Congress convened on the opening day of the Fair—May 15, 1893—and continued for one week. Unfortunately, Frances Willard was in Europe when the great day arrived. This was the most distinguished gathering of women ever assembled and was made possible through her influence in securing the co-operation of the

National Council of Women and the International Council of Women.

This congress dramatized all the hard pioneering work of women for women over a period of twenty years. It did much to focus public attention upon their progress since the Civil War. The Board of Lady Managers was allotted a building on the Lake Front which was not only one of the best locations but also one of the most beautiful buildings at the Exposition. Notable women and titled women from all lands came to participate in the Woman's Congress. The press gave them generous space, noting their achievements as well as their costumes! These women, moreover, were entertained as illustrous visitors, not merely as wives of distinguished men.

If Miss Willard had not been forced by ill health to seek rest and quiet abroad, she would have been the most distinguished woman at the Exposition. Listed for addresses in five different congresses, she would have shone as the conspicuous leader. In addition to her prominent place with the Woman's Congress, she was honorary vice-president of the International Congress of Education, which convened on July 25-28, and was scheduled to speak on their program. Likewise she had a part in the Religious Congress, which was under the chairmanship of Rev. John Henry Barrows of the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago. Something of the disappointment of all these organizations over her absence was voiced by Dr. Barrows in his letter to her (May 4, 1893).

> But I am particularly disappointed that we are not to hear your voice at the Parliament of Religions. Well, I take a little comfort in the hope that you will be able to prepare a paper on the theme which you finally selected for your main address. We shall need now to look around for some other person to give the word of welcome on the first day on behalf of American womanhood. It will be hard for any one to come after the Queen. If you can send me the paper which you will not be able to deliver yourself, I shall be glad to have it by the first of September or earlier.
>
> I think that when you hear the full account of the opening of the Exposition and of the dedication of the Women's Building, you will feel that it was a great day for women.

The Psychical Science Congress, listed under the Department of Science and Philosophy, had also counted on her help. She had promised to address them on August 21.

The Temperance Congresses occupied an important place at the

PRESIDENT, CHARLES C. BONNEY.
VICE-PRESIDENT, THOMAS B. BRYAN.

TREASURER, LYMAN J. GAGE.
SECRETARY, BENJ. BUTTERWORTH.

The World's Congress Auxiliary

OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION
OF 1893.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

DIVISION OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

To Frances E. Willard,
Evanston, Ill.

DEAR ~~SIR.~~ Madam

The Joint Committee of Arrangements for the International Congress of Psychical Researchers, to be held in Chicago in August, 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, have unanimously instructed me to request that you will do the Committee and the Congress the distinguished honor to prepare an Address ~~on the subject of~~

any subject you may elect

We earnestly hope and particularly request that this Address may be presented by you in person; but if this should prove impracticable, the Address may be transmitted to the undersigned, the Chairman of this Committee, with the understanding that it shall be read by proxy in open meeting, during the Session of the Psychical Science Congress. The authorities of the World's

Exposition. Frances Willard had been asked to serve as chairman of the Woman's Branch of the Temperance Congress by Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, the distinguished chairman of the Temperance Congresses.[7] For a Catholic churchman of the celebrity of Archbishop Ireland to invite a Protestant woman to share the responsibility of this congress was a gallant recognition both of the position of women and of the standing of Frances Willard. When the Temperance Congress convened on June 5, the Archbishop was one more person keenly disappointed at her absence.

The clubs and associations to which Frances Willard belonged not only broadened her viewpoint but implemented her influence and prestige. Her interest was not merely suffrage or temperance or clubs but a mosaic of woman's activities which included advancement in all directions, from better jobs and working conditions to political privileges. Her points of contact with women through her various associations brought her into touch with all classes of women and gave her a kaleidoscopic view of the whole movement unequaled by any other person of the century.

CHAPTER XVIII

Views on Many Subjects

FRANCES WILLARD prided herself on being broad minded. The new thoughts of her generation made a special appeal to her if for no other reason than that they were new. Ever the adventurer, she delighted in the exploration of intellectual fields and found excitement in penetrating far afield from orthodox views. Sometimes she wandered only slightly to the left of conservative thought; sometimes she strayed so completely afield as to become lost in the bog of the charlatan. Her views in three realms of thought are of especial interest: socialism, spiritualism, and the church. In a little pamphlet which she published in London in 1893, entitled *The Modern Temperance Movement*, she said that the difference between the temperance reform in earlier and later years was that between a straight line and a circle. Pointing out that the philosophy of John B. Gough had been only total abstinence, she said that after the Crusade temperance became linked with many other reforms. She quoted a remark from Richard Cobden that "Temperance Reform lies at the very foundation of all reforms." This tenet the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had literally adopted. The key word of the Union, therefore, had been "Combine."[1]

Although accepting western liberalism with all its Socialist implications, Miss Willard probably did not think in terms of socialism as such until she learned of Edward Bellamy and his much-talked-of book, *Looking Backward*. He condemned competition as an application of the law of brute force in the survival of the fittest. His gospel struck such a responsive cord in her heart that she wrote him a glowing letter of tribute. In his response to her (August 7, 1888) he outlined something of his social views and asked her cooperation in organizing a national club.

The social scheme outlined in *Looking Backward* contemplates a state of society in which there shall be no poverty, in which neither wife nor chil-

dren shall be dependent for support on the husband or father or any other individual and in which no one's waste can affect any one but himself or herself.

It also contemplates a state of the world in which all shall have been fully and equally educated, so that while there will still remain the differences of natural endowments, all will be so far developed as to be capable of intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment and recreations, to which but a few are now susceptible.

At the same time the leisure which now tempts to debauchery the youth of the rich will be enjoyed only by middle age as the reward of labor.

In such a state of society I hold it rational to believe that the abuse of wine will be rare and not comparable to the advantages attending its moderate use.

I beg you to consider also that while personal liberty cannot be fully respected by law because classes and individuals are so interdependent that the conduct of one directly involves the welfare of others, it can and will be the corner-stone of the new society because therein no individual will be so dependent on another as to be damaged by his follies. In such a state of society there will be no justification for legal restrictions on self-regarding conduct whether the majority may approve it or not.

There will be at least a rational and unquestionable basis for the claim of personal liberty, which never before could be fully conceded out of regard for the common weal. The temperance cause is therefore contained in the cause of social and industrial reform and all the ends of the former which are truly philanthropic will be attained and can only be attained by the latter.

I have no fear but that you are and will be with us, you and the other elect ladies who lead your party. Your own heart will bring you with no need of arguments. They may be saved for others.

That you may understand how much in earnest I and the friends my book has made are, I will add that Nationalist Clubs are already organizing or projected in Boston, New York and Chicago to disseminate this idea set forth in *Looking Backward* and to serve as the nucleii of the country National Party which is to carry them out.

Thousands of Americans were profoundly influenced by Edward Bellamy in the last decade of the century. In her annual address before the Union in 1888 Frances Willard made reference to the new ideas gaining currency. She told them that it was in "the air nowadays" to live for others and that it had even become "good form." Justice and not charity, she emphasized, was the keynote of the newer day, and she congratulated the astonished women for taking

the "broad view of the question." They hardly knew what she was talking about but were so devoted to her and so awed at her erudition that they were glad she was glad! In her bland, flattering way she recommended they all read John Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and Dr. Robert Ingersoll's *Political versus Commercial Economy*. She delighted, she said, that the women had chosen to follow the newer school of political economists represented by Professor Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins University rather than Professor William G. Sumner of Yale. The women were equally delighted to learn that they had chosen the right political school, not knowing yet what they had chosen but feeling proud and satisfied now that she announced it to them. She possessed the inestimable gift of making the women feel like superior beings. Bravely she then declared that, while prohibition of liquor would be a blessing to the wage-worker, there was more than this in the labor movement.

In the eighties a magazine was started in Boston by a group of Socialists, called *Dawn*. The editor, W. D. P. Bliss, described it as a monthly magazine of Christian Socialists. Among its associate editors were listed Hamlin Garland, Edward E. Hale, Richard T. Ely, Mary A. Livermore, Annie Besant, and Sidney Webb. In the issue of July 15, 1889, Frances Willard also was listed as an associate editor. Thereafter, she frequently wrote for *Dawn*. In one of these articles (February 12, 1891) she said: "Nationalism is more of a machine for grinding out civilization; Socialism the womb out of which the coming civilization we believe will be born. The machine is in danger of producing not men, but machines. Socialism is to us the Alma Mater of healthy individuals."

But not until Frances Willard went to England in the summer of 1892 did she become really immersed in socialism. The peculiar blending of western thought and social philosophy is apparent in an interview she gave a reporter of the *New York World* (February 7, 1892) some six months before she sailed—in fact, a short time before the ill-fated Industrial Conference at St. Louis. She stated that her aim was to abolish poverty by such economic reforms as (*a*) bimetalism, (*b*) tariff for revenue only, (*c*) nationalization of all means of communication and transit, and (*d*) co-operation in place of competition in the wage system. Further, she recommended as a means to her utopia the creation of national and international boards of arbitration, to which all differences both domestic and

international should be referred. Prohibition and woman suffrage, of course, were also included in this reform program.

Thus it is apparent that she had thought much of socialism before she went to England, but there her philosophy matured. How much she knew of the Fabians before this sojourn across the sea is not known, but she quickly discovered that it was her kind of creed. She received a letter (June 23, 1893) from Sidney Webb asking her to join the Fabian Society. To do this, he explained, it would be necessary for her to subscribe to the basic doctrine of the organization which was the general acceptance of collectivism. At the top of this letter Frances Willard scribbled in pencil, "scientific socialist." When she joined the Fabians is not known, but she did join and probably sometime during the year of 1893.[2]

Upon her return from Europe she spoke more and more the philosophy of socialism. In her Baltimore address (1895) to the national Union she cried out with great fervor: "Why should there by any class but the industrial!" Decrying the division of society into the leaders who do not work and the rank and file, she said: "I am a collectivist because I believe these burdens should be distributed according to those principles of justice which ought to teach every human being that every other has as much right as himself to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." The *Baltimore Sun* (October 19, 1895) reported that she described the social order as "a vegetating aristocracy on the one hand and an agitating democracy on the other." It was at this time that she began linking intemperance with poverty. While it had long been the thesis of the Union that drink caused poverty, it was something new to say that poverty caused drink. But this approach fitted better with her new Socialist doctrine. So great was her enthusiasm for the new gospel of socialism that she declared that if she were ten years younger she would devote her life to the cause.[3] Explaining something of her views on socialism in the annual presidential address of 1897, she declared that she would like to take the entire plant called civilization and make it the common property of all the people. All persons would be required to work with their hands, although not long enough to be burdensome; and all should be given the same advantages of education. She shared the views of Frederick Maurice of England, she said, who believed that it was "infidel for anyone to say that the law of supply and demand is as changeless as the

law of gravitation." What the Socialist desires, she emphasized, was that the corporation of humanity should control all the products. "Beloved Comrades," she concluded, "this is the frictionless way, it is the higher law, it eliminates the motives for a selfish life, it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's Gospel; nothing else will do it, nothing else can bring the good day of universal brotherhood."[4]

Several years before she died, Miss Willard witnessed the founding of a co-operative colony bearing her name, although she was not active in the project. It was called the Frances E. Willard Co-operative Colony and was established either late in 1895 or early in 1896 close to Andrews, North Carolina, in the heart of Cherokee County in the southwest corner of the state. Here twenty thousand acres were purchased. The land was supposed to be rich in minerals and timber—a gold mine, marble quarries, iron, and a heavy growth of virgin timber. Five thousand acres were set aside for co-operative farming. Manufacturing industries were established, schools, a college, and a public library. Their declaration of principles, which embodied some of Frances Willard's dogma, read:

> We declare for a Protestant Union Church, based only on the Bible and the apostles creed. Our religious motto shall be "In essential things, unity; in nonessential things, liberty; in all things, charity." Our business motto shall be, "Manhood before money; co-operation vs. competition." Our political creed shall be the Prohibition of trusts, natural monopolies and the liquor traffic.[5]

Her adherence to socialism caused more criticism in the press than all of her other espousals. She had long been a popular personality with the newspapers, but her social declarations of 1895 and 1897 provoked many trenchant editorials.

Another field of exploration which fascinated Frances Willard but which, fortunately, she limited to her own private enjoyment was that of psychical research. She refrained from introducing this matter to the Union, possibly through the wise counsel of Anna Gordon. There was a strain of melancholy in her, which cropped out from time to time despite her effort at cheerfulness. It was a continual struggle for her not to lose the sparkle in the darkening shadows of her gloomy spirit. The death of her sister and father in the sixties caused her to brood overmuch upon the hereafter. Ever since Mary's untimely end she had cringed at the thought of death,

BY-LAWS

OF THE

Willard... Co=Operative ...Colony.

[Miss Willard, being requested to allow the use of her name, as above, replied: . . "Among all the enterprises that have done me the honor to ask the use of my name, none is more in keeping with my principles than that which you outline in your admirable 'Declaration of Principles' (Sec. 2.) For this reason you are at liberty to prefix my name to your Colony. Without possessing a penny's material interest, I must say that I have any amount of moral interest in the undertaking. Believe me, Yours with every good wish,

FRANCES E. WILLARD."]

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1895.

BYLAWS OF WILLARD CO-OPERATIVE COLONY

which increased her melancholy. After going to Pittsburgh in 1862, she wrote: "Oh, if I could keep my face and form forever young, if I could save myself from such a fate as Mary's." From such dire thoughts she became a mystic, exploring phrenology, spiritualism, and psychical phenomena.[6]

In the spring of 1876 Frances consulted a phrenologist at Delaware, Ohio, while staying in the home of the Rev. L. D. McCabe. The chart he worked out for her was carefully preserved and is interesting as a specimen of the "science." He considered her weak in humor and on the back of the chart recommended that she "cultivate the faculty of wit; restore it to its normal powers." As Frances Willard was noted as a lecturer of great charm and wit, one must conclude either that the consultant was greatly mistaken or else that she improved considerably after his advice. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that she was given the highest marking in love of pets, cautiousness, and self-reliance. Certainly she had had an unusual love of pets from the time of her childhood days. So great was her regard for pets as a child that the poor things, when overtaken by fate, were given a loving burial. She and her sister had a little hillock named the "Graveyard of the Pets," where various little mounds were marked with the appropriate description of this or that departed animal. In later years her love of animals was so great that she kept a collection of birds, cats, and dogs. A really curious point of this reading, however, was that she was to live twenty-one years longer. She actually did live twenty-one years and nine months longer. One might dismiss this consultation as a lark except that she continued to delve into the occult.

Another reading of phrenology some ten years later (June 16, 1886, by Professor O. S. Fowler of Springfield, Ohio) showed that she had sufficient energy to last for nearly fifty years, regardless of how hard she worked. Amusingly, this phrenologist upbraided her for her severity with other people and advised her to study charity, remembering that she was not the "keeper of another." Her standard of morality was too high and her views "too puritanical," he said. Commending her will-power, which could mold public opinion and sway people to her views, he commented on her tendency toward melancholy and suggested that she cultivate looking on the bright side of things. "Want of hope" he designated as her weakest point.

CHART

OF THE

Physiological Temperament, and Phrenological & Physiognomical Indications

OF THE CHARACTER AND TENDENCIES

of *Miss Frances E. Willard*

of *Chicago, Illinois*, aged *36* years,

By EDWIN LEIGHTON.

CONSULTING AND PRACTICAL PHRENOLOGIST AND PHYSIOLOGIST.

an active mental

TEMPERAMENT (Eight Degrees)—*1* Bilious, *3* Sanguine, *3* Nervous, *1* Lymphatic=8

PHYSIQUE—*fair* Bones, *tender* Muscles, *quick* Blood (or circulation), *fair* Tissue,
ordinary Health, *good* Breathing, *steady* Digestion, *elastic* Lungs,
nervous Heart, *active* Liver, *and* Bowels.

BRAIN—*full average* Size.

Read in following Scale, 20 for Large, 18 Full, 16 Average, 14 Moderate. *22-very large*

ANIMAL GROUP.	
Amativeness, or Sexual Love	18
Conjugality, or Faithful Love	20
Love of Offspring, or Pets	22
Adhesiveness, or Social Tie	20
Inhabitiveness, or Love of Home	18
Continuity, or Force	20
Love of Life, Mastery of Disease	18
Combativeness, or Competition	18
Destructiveness, inflicts Suffering	16
Secretiveness, conceals	18
Acquisitiveness, seeks to Possess	18
Constructiveness, builds, contrives, plans.	20
Gustativeness, eats, enjoys food.	18

Verbal

MORAL ATTRIBUTES.	
Self-esteem, or Elevation of self	18
Love of Approbation, or Display	20
Cautiousness, or Care taking.	22
Benevolence, kindness, service, assistance	18
Veneration, honor or gratitude	20
Firmness of Will, or Decision	18
Conscientiousness, or Justice	20
Hope, Enterprise and firm belief	20
Wonder, Love of the Marvellous	18
Spirituality, or High Faith	20
Ideality, the exact idea, or original insight; the Poet's creative organ	20
Sublimity, or Infinitude	18
Imitation, or Duplication	18
Wit, or Mirth, happiness	16
Suavity, or Persuasiveness, courtesy.	18

Common to Animals. / These are Peculiar to Man.

‡ You are to Elevate.

INTELLECTUAL ORGANS.	
Individuality, or the Person, place or thing	20
Locality, or *Situation* of the person, place or thing.	18
Form of Person, place or thing	16
Size of Person, place or thing	16
Weight, or steadiness	20
Color, Beauty of and Shade	18
Number, accounts, calculation	20
Order, taste neatness.	20
Eventuality, or Occurrences	16
Time, or Precision, or Duration	16
Tune, or Music, or Harmony.	18
Language, or Ready Expression	20
Comparison, or estimates, similarities, contrasts.	18
Causation, or Analysis	18
Human Nature, or Knowledge of Others.	18

FACIAL SIGNS.	
Love of Athletics	20
Love of Ablutions	18
Love of Symmetry, or Beauty	20
Measure of Distance, or Projectiles	20
Readiness to Resist.	18
Readiness to Attack	16
Power of Utterance	20
Self-reliance	22

Edwin Leighton

9th May 1876.

* You are to Depress.

CHART ON PHYSIOLOGICAL TEMPERAMENT

A few years later she investigated "solar biology," which was only another name for astrology. (The character report was by Oscar B. Todhunter, October 16, 1890, of the Occident Company of Cincinnati, Ohio.) Tiring of phrenology and astrology, Frances Willard began her investigation of the newer phase of mystical science known as psychical research. She was a member of the Psychical Research Society and had agreed to speak at their congress at the World's Fair in 1893. The *Woman's Tribune* (October 8, 1892) commented that "this congress should have great significance for all women who believe in 'equality before the law' and other natural rights of their sex" because "the Advisory Council is composed of both sexes—some of the women most distinguished in good works, among whom I may name Lady Henry Somerset and Miss Frances E. Willard."

Like socialism, psychical thought was further advanced in England than in America. The Psychical Research Society there was founded in 1882, and its membership boasted some of the most noted names in Great Britain. Although several years later a branch of the society was established in the United States, it never reached the same popularity here. Among its members were Henry Sidgwick, A. J. Balfour, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lord Ragleigh, Conan Doyle, Alfred Russell Wallace, and William James of Harvard University. The object was to investigate the phenomena of hypnosis, trance clairvoyance, apparitions, and haunted houses. This British society Frances Willard and her friend Lady Henry joined in November, 1893. Lady Henry's son, Henry Somers Somerset, also belonged.[7]

In response to the request for a statement by W. T. Stead, London editor of *Review of Reviews*, who proposed to start a new journal, Frances Willard said through the *Woman's Herald* (June 20, 1893): "I have always been sympathetic towards the scientific studyof the phenomena with which you propose to deal in the projected magazine called *Borderland*."

In *Glimpses of Fifty Years* she characterized this interest in the occult as "mind cure." This, in truth, was a more accurate term than psychical research. It did provide an escape for one suffering with grief.

> I am often asked what I think about the mental method, mind-cure, Christian science, or whatever may be the most appropriate term, and I have been warned repeatedly against it by excellent and trusted friends.

However, I cannot see in it the danger that many do. We live in a strangely materialistic world, when thought is declared to be a secretion of the brain, and revelation looked upon as nothing but a myth.

From conversations with experts in this study, who are also among the best men and women I have ever known, I have certainly felt that it would be disloyalty to God and to humanity for me to speak against this new era. . . . I am confident that if Christians will take what is good in this new evangel and eschew what is evil, it may become a mighty power for the triumph of Him who said: "My words are spirit and they are life."

Something analogous to this seems to be true of theosophy, and the occult studies that have come to us from those wonderful regions of the East, that furnished the soil out of which grew the tree of life—Christianity.

Thus did her search for the land of the dead lead her into the unreality of mysticism. Yet she was never quite sure of spiritualism, as she toyed also with the concept of reincarnation. As a young teacher she made a curious observation:

One of the speculations in these dialogues [Socrates] pleased me particularly, that is the one where the philosopher inquires what will become of the souls of those who have not loved wisdom, after this life. He thinks some may be changed into wolves, or hawks, or kites, while those of the milder type may become wasps, or ants, or even change again into the human species. I can never rid myself of the idea that a spirit alien to them, looks out of the eyes of dogs, cows, and horses I have seen. The expression is so wistful, as for those that long for something forever unattainable. It is a curious thought, of which I can not clear my mind; in its practical workings it is a good one, too, for I try always to be kind to animals, particularly those of the large, hungry eyes.

In her strange mingling of beliefs Frances Willard seemed to give some credence to the old Chinese belief of the transmutation of the soul. She called herself an eclectic in religion and drew ideas from the classic Roman, Marcus Aurelius; the scholastic, Thomas à Kempis; and the Greeks, especially Epictetus and Plato. The mysticism of the French scholar, François Fénelon, and the high idealism of our own famous philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, also greatly influenced her.

Feeling akin to the soul of dumb animals, she turned vegetarian, probably after she returned from Europe in the early seventies. Frances Willard had the habit of writing on the flyleaf of her most cherished books. The following inscription in Walt Whitman's

Leaves of Grass, which she dated August 26, 1876, is the first indication of her vegetarian views: "The 'theory' of W. W. may do when mankind ceases to eat meat, drink whisky or smoke tobacco—when all are Bronsons, Alcotts and Emersons—but it is utterly crazy for the 19th century." The London Vegetarian Society, of which she was a member, recommended such foods as wheatmeal, oatmeal, lentils, peas, haricots, fresh fruits, nuts and green vegetables, fresh air, and pure water. This was the oldest society of its kind, having been organized in 1847. As Frances Willard was then suffering from anemia, this diet might be questioned. The last few years of her life she spent in a hopeless quest for health. However, she had long been an advocate of fresh air, exercise, and sensible dress reforms. In the early nineties she recommended that all women ride the bicycle. In her fifties, when she herself learned this popular sport, she promptly exhorted her colleagues to follow her example. So serious was she in her effort to induce women to exercise that she wrote a little book called *A Wheel within a Wheel*.

Among her views relating to women was her position in the church. From the days when it was decided that Oliver should study for the ministry, she longed to do likewise. Yet she was equally drawn to politics and writing. In her *Glimpses* she said: "If I had been a man the pulpit and politics would have been my field in case I was early driven from the Eden of Literature by the desire of financial independence." Although she always had a wide range of interests, it is clear that she did have certain leanings toward the pulpit if circumstances had been more favorable. Her first religious work had been in the Woman's Centenary Association in 1866 for the building of a dormitory for the theological students at Garret Biblical Institute. She long took an interest in the woman's missionary work and was a frequent contributor to the missionary magazines. Even as a young, struggling teacher she frequently filled a market basket with food, which she carried to some unfortunate family in the slums of Chicago.

It will be remembered that, for a few months in 1877, Frances Willard had joined the work of Dwight L. Moody. But he had proved more orthodox than she. Too adventurous in her ideas, too broad in her beliefs, she was unsuited to occupy the pulpit. As she herself said, she found great good in all religions. It is, however, significant that she had her taste of preaching during these few un-

happy months with the greatest preacher of her generation and found it unsatisfactory.

Despite her broad faith, Frances Willard always maintained a warm affection for the Methodist church. Her work in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union strengthened this accord, as the organization had been born at Chautauqua under the sympathetic guidance of John Vincent, one of the most distinguished men in Methodism. Many Methodist ministers and bishops succored the infant organization by opening their churches for its meetings. One of the cardinal policies of Frances Willard in gaining recognition for the Union was to send delegates to all national conventions of related organizations to seek their friendly approval and to invite them to send similar delegates to the national convention of the Union. All ecclesiastical assemblages, Sunday-school meetings, and other similar bodies were thus prevailed upon for indorsement of the W.C.T.U. Accordingly she went to the Methodist General Conference in 1880, only six months after she became president of the Union, to solicit their friendly approbation.

She was new to the procedure of such conferences. She was surprised to find that the grave church dignitaries were aghast at her presence in their august assembly and actually dumbfounded when she explained her mission. A few of her old friends, however, rallied around her; and one, Theodore Flood, editor of the *Chautauquan*, introduced a resolution to give her ten minutes on the floor of the convention. Dr. James M. Buckley, who later became famous as the leading opponent to women in the Methodist conference, now vigorously protested the resolution. Two hours were spent in acrimonious debate on the simple issue as to whether a woman bringing them felicitations from a kindred organization should be given ten minutes to speak. When a vote was finally taken, two-thirds of the conference favored the resolution, whereupon the sportsman-like Dr. Buckley declared that he would "exhaust parliamentary resources to prevent it." So bitter had been the debate that some of Miss Willard's closest friends suggested that she withdraw from the conference. She accordingly wrote the following note (May 18, 1880), and departed for a friendlier zone:

HONORED BRETHEREN: It is the judgment of many of your members who championed the cause of women in yesterday's debate (in which judgment I concur), that I would better state to you, with my hearty thanks

for the final vote, that I decline to use the hard-earned ten minutes allotted me. Suffer me, however, to explain that having been sent here as a fraternal visitor by our Woman's National Society, and moreover, having so often spoken before ecclesiastical bodies upon their earnest invitation never having attended a General Conference before, I had no idea of the strong opposition that would be manifested, or I would not have listened to the generous friends who urged the matter on your attention.

Your sister in Christian work,
FRANCES E. WILLARD

This unpleasant controversy awakened Frances Willard to a situation of which she had been unconscious before—recognition of women in church conferences. In an effort to formulate the issue she published a book in the spring of 1888 called *Woman in the Pulpit*. Herein she pointed out that two-thirds of the graduates of the public schools were women, that two-thirds of the teachers in these schools were women, that three-fourths of the church members were women, and that through the Sunday-school system women were already the theological teachers of the future church. She reminded her readers that the Union had long maintained an evangelistic department, which ministered to the poor and humble, and did so most successfully. Some people had come to an acceptance of a few chosen women who might safely be permitted to preach, she said, but who held that the profession should be closed to the others. This view she held up to scorn as being unfair and illogical and a positive blow to woman's future development in the field of theology. She pointed with pride to the women who had dared the slights of the profession and persevered to a position of eminence; she also quoted the glowing words of praise for women preachers by many eminent ministers of different faiths.

This book, published in April, 1888, could hardly have been more timely had she known the course of future events. One month later there convened the great Methodist conference of which she had been elected a lay delegate by her own diocese, the Rock River Conference of Illinois. She and Anna Gordon were attending the New York State Union convention at Binghamton, early in October, 1887, when the surprising news came. Anna wrote:

DEAR MRS. WILLARD:

Of course you feel glad in Frank's joy that she has had the great honor of being chosen delegate to General Conference. I wish you could have

heard her praise of those noble men who were the means of her election, and could have seen her delight when the news came through Mr. Kean's telegram.

We were at the breakfast table in Binghamton and when she tried to tell her hostess she could hardly speak for tears. How keenly she appreciates a noble, generous act!

After the painful scene at Cincinnati seven years before, the honor was a triumph. The cause of women had marched forward during this interim, as four other local conferences elected for the first time a woman lay delegate to the great general conference. Frances Willard, therefore, would not be a lone woman in this great assembly.[8] She inscribed in a copy of *The Story of Methodism* given her by the author: "Dear Old Mother Church, I love thee. In this year thou hast made thy chief advance—sending women to the General Conference—of which I am one. Now declare women under no limitation within thy kindly fold and thy parish shall spread wide as the world."

Letters of congratulations poured in on her from friends in all walks of life: suffrage, Prohibition party, the Union, and the church. A letter (October 19, 1887) from C. H. Payne, president of Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, is of interest: "I rejoice that you will be inside next time and abundantly able to plead your own worthy cause and fight your own battles, and I cannot refrain from sending you this hasty note of congratulation."

Frances Willard, busy with her exacting life, gave no thought to any possible difficulties which might await her at the convention. She had been a duly elected delegate and naturally presumed she would be duly seated. But, arriving in New York several days before the convention opened, she suddenly realized that Dr. Buckley had already begun his campaign to block the seating of the five women delegates. Her good friend, General Clinton Fisk, who several weeks later was chosen the presidential candidate of the Prohibition party, was chairman on arrangements. He told her the situation but voiced his confidence that the women would be seated and advised her to take her seat with her delegation when the convention opened. Frances Willard had not forgotten the bitter experience of earlier years, so that, perceiving the ugly shadow of discord again rising, she took advantage of a telegram announcing her mother's illness and left New York. Glad to escape another

combat of words over the justice of woman's place in a church conference, Frances Willard returned to Evanston, where she watched with eager interest the heated debate.

The deliberation over the seating of delegates, which meant the sitting of the five women delegates, caused as much excitement as a gladiatorial contest on a Roman holiday. The Metropolitan Opera House was packed, and there was not an unoccupied seat in the boxes and galleries, according to the *New York Times* (May 4, 1888). Ladies, however, constituted a majority of the observers who had come to watch the spectacle. The absence of Miss Willard was noted in the press, which stated that there was keen disappointment because she was not present.

The keynote of the decision was made in the episcopal address by the senior bishop, Thomas Bowman, at the opening of the convention.[9] He said that if women were "included in the original constitutional provision for lay delegates they would then be entitled to their seats"; but if not so included, it was beyond the power of the convention "lawfully to admit them," which could be done only by the consent of the regional conferences. The convention was surprised at the definite and unyielding position taken by the bishops at the very outset of the conference before even the laymen had had a chance to express their views. Her old friends, Bishop Simpson and Bishop Haven, were dead, or the decision might have been different. Bishop Foster, another of her old friends, was present but apparently did nothing to stem the tide of opposition. Bishop Vincent, her only other remaining friend on this board, was not present.

After the bishop's address there followed the report of the committee on eligibility, which was signed by eleven of the seventeen members. The *New York Times* (May 2, 1888) stated that the six dissident members did not submit a minority report. The point of this report, said the *Christian Advocate* (May 10, 1888), was that women were not eligible as lay delegates because under the "second restrictive rule which was altered by the constitutional process, the Church contemplated the admission of men only as lay representatives." Following this report, debate from the floor was finally permitted. The antagonistic Dr. Buckley was the first speaker from the floor to take up the challenge. The *New York Times* (May 4, 1888) commented that his speech was a disappointment. "What Dr. Buckley does not know about the impropriety of giving women seats

in the General Conference is not worth knowing, and it was the vast extent of his knowledge which robbed his speech of its force." Sardonically the paper added that in an hour or two he might have exhausted the subject, but in twenty minutes he was only able to touch upon it lightly! The technical point upon which the discussion, lasting nearly a week, hinged was the interpretation of "lay men"—did this mean "men" or "men and women"? One good brother by the name of G. W. Hughey brought considerable ridicule on Buckley for using the term "men" in such a restrictive sense. Quoting from the Bible, he said that the "Apostles went out everywhere and preached to men—not just lay-men"; again, "it is appointed unto man once to die—not just lay-men, either"; and yet again, "except a man be born again—suppose 'lay' had been prefixed to that?" With delicious wit he pointed out that the discipline of the church used the pronouns "he," "his," and "him"; but he asked if that meant women could not be disciplined under the rules of the church? In a more serious mood he reminded the convention that lay representation was voted upon in 1868 and would have been defeated if the women had not supported it: "I appeal to the men who hold their seats by the will and vote of women of the Church to rise up in their manhood, and for gallantry's sake vote that women shall receive the rights they have before the law," related the *Christian Advocate*.

Despite the many eloquent speeches in behalf of the women, the power and influence of the bishops, implemented by the dynamic little Buckley, held the balance of votes. "The authority of the bishops," said the *Christian Advocate* (May 3, 1888), "is great indeed for it is their decision that ratified and completed everything, and there is not power like unto it in Protestantism." One of the opposing bishops was Charles Fowler, the man to whom Frances Willard had once been engaged and the same man who caused her such grief at Northwestern University. Although he had been a bishop only since 1884, he had great influence. Fowler had been trained as a lawyer, was widely recognized as an orator, and had won great prestige as the president of Northwestern University and later as the editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*. He was the man chosen to give the first Sunday sermon of the convention on May 6, and the Metropolitan Opera House was packed to hear him.[10] He was young, vigorous, dynamic, brilliant, and the out-

standing leader on the Board of Bishops. He was constantly consulted even by the oldest members of the board as to legal interpretation, phraseology of reports, and the constitutionality of action.

Bishop Fowler, however, could never see quite clearly on any subject in which Frances Willard was concerned. He had tormented her in the two years they were associated together at Northwestern University. Since then she had gone on to fame and world-wide acclaim while he had become a bishop, the greatest honor which the mighty Methodist church could confer upon him. Now in his exalted position he had another opportunity to humiliate and humble the woman he had once expected to marry. Further to fortify his antagonism to her was his avowed opposition to women in public life, especially those who spoke in public or took part with men in public affairs. It was generally recognized at the time that Fowler was the leading opponent among the bishops to the seating of the women lay delegates. It was even common gossip at the conference that the whole stormy debate was merely an "affair of the heart between Charlie and Frances."

After four days of bitter wrangling, a vote was taken, which denied the women delegates the right to sit in the convention by a margin of thirty-nine votes. Public sentiment over the contest was well expressed by a New York newspaper as follows:

> The Bishops and conservatism prevailed yesterday in the Methodist Episcopal Conference. After a gallant struggle the friends of the women delegates elect were overcome, though by so small a vote that the defeat was by no means devoid of glory. As the culmination of a shrewd, careful, and persistent attack by a minority against a majority however, the result was creditable to the victors. The general opinion seems to be in the Convention that if the members had been called upon to vote at the opening of the Conference the women delegates would have at once been admitted. It is equally certain that while the action of the bishops in refusing to admit the women delegates may have somewhat reduced the majority, it had the effect of rousing in the remainder a no-compromise spirit which was one of the greatest difficulties the upholders of conservatism had to contend with.[11]

While the decision of the convention was in the tradition of the church against recognition of women, it nevertheless forecast the changing views of churchmen. The question was not dropped here

but was to be submitted to local conferences with the view of again bringing it up before the General Conference at a later date. One of the women delegates—Mrs. Mary G. Nind of Minnesota, president of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society—commented briskly upon the decision as reported in the *Chicago Tribune* (May 9, 1888). She said the power behind the throne was against them from the beginning but that another time the bishops would not be unanimous in their opposition and by that time there would be twenty or thirty women lay delegates instead of five.

Frances Willard, watching the stirring events from her sunny home in Evanston, was shocked and hurt by the decision. In her *Glimpses*, which was then being prepared, she said:

> However, I lost no sleep and wasted no tears over the curious transaction, and I confidently predict that we five women, whose election was thus disavowed, will have more enviable places in history than any who opposed us on those memorable days. Of them, it will be written, while doubtless they did not so intend, that they committed an injustice: of us, only that in silence we endured it.

Strangely enough, a few women took their position alongside of these conservative men. One of the most notable of these was Annie Wittenmyer, the first president of the W.C.T.U., whose reactionary views had early clashed with those of Frances Willard. She was rebuked by the *Woman's Journal* (February 23, 1889) for writing a series of articles published by the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* during and after the controversy, opposing the admission of women as delegates to the Methodist General Conference. But such opposition could not stem surging progress, although it was able to delay for a decade church recognition of women. In 1896 the powerful Methodist church, with its boasted three million members, sixteen thousand ministers, and fifteen million dollars worth of wealth, capitulated to the demands of the women. The General Conference, by a majority of 425, voted to admit women as lay delegates. It was not, however, until 1904 that women delegates took their seats in this great ecclesiastical conclave, so that Frances Willard did not live to witness the victory.

One of the dominant characteristics of Frances Willard was to make a friend of an enemy whenever possible. With sublime charity she invited Dr. Buckley to the national convention of the Union in 1890 at Atlanta, Georgia. His reply to her (October 1, 1890), in

view of the bitter opposition he conducted against women both in the general Conference of 1888 and before and after this date, is indeed frank and interesting.

We were gratified to receive your courteous letter of September 16th. Owing to previous engagements it will be impossible for me to attend the 17th annual meeting of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. If it were nearer at hand it would give us pleasure to accept your kind invitation.

We do not see eye to eye upon three great questions,—Woman Suffrage, the Ordination of Women to the Ministry, and their admission into the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I beg to assure you it is a grief to me to differ from one whose work and character I respect and whose gifts of mind and heart I can but admire. Upon total abstinence, opposition to license as a principle, and a firm conviction of the feasibility, expediency, rightfulness and necessity of prohibition, and upon the White Cross of Purity and many other subjects my judgment and sympathies are with you and your co-workers.

The work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, so far as it does not relate to the subjects above excepted, I am free to confess is an extraordinary and beneficent phase of modern philanthropy and religion. I may be permitted to express the sincere hope that each succeeding year will make it more efficient in elevating the race and assisting "this great world of Christian liberty" to retain and improve its heritage.

To the end of his days Dr. Buckley continued a vociferous opponent of woman's larger sphere of influence, notwithstanding his mother's thorough disagreement with his views.[12]

A project which never materialized but which helped to assuage the disappointment and grief Frances Willard felt over the decision of the Methodist General Conference in 1888 was a union church. On the morning of August 6, 1888, there met at her home in Evanston Anna Shaw, Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett of the Temperance Hospital, and Bishop Samuel Fallows of the Reformed Episcopal church of Chicago. The meeting had been summoned by the bishop. Frances Willard was not pleased about the prospective interview, as she thought the good bishop wanted to dissuade her from further activity with the Prohibition party. She was quite unprepared for his somewhat startling proposal: to organize a "Church Union" wherein men and women would be equal. Men and women would remain in whatever denomination they chose, including the Catholic church, but would in addition be invited to join this Church

Union, whose basic doctrine should be the Apostle's Creed. This new Christian organization should have its own bishops and officials, teachers, training schools, and church buildings, as any denomination had. The bishop promised to ordain women, even though it lost him his office.

After listening to the bishop's plan, Frances Willard confessed to a similar idea after the repudiation of the women delegates at the recent General Conference. She wanted an interdenominational church which she would call the "American Church." It would be based on the Apostle's Creed, the white-cross pledge, total abstinence, and perfect equality of men and women. Thus had Miss Willard anticipated the bishop's plan by several months, although she had no way to effect the ordination of women. The bishop wanted to start this new church with the W.C.T.U., whose national convention was only a few months off, and offered to ordain a number of women at that time. Anna Shaw, Dr. Mary Burnett, and Frances Willard were all deeply interested in the plan and felt that the conduct of the Methodists fully warranted such a step. Miss Willard, however, demurred at introducing the movement to the W.C.T.U. but offered the bishop an opportunity to speak on "Women" at the convention, after which he might have an ordination service. She also agreed to write to many of her friends in the ministry for their support of the project, as well as to a number of prominent women.[13] But the utopian church remained a dream.

The bishop did address the Union in its national convention that autumn (October 21, 1888) on "The Ecclesiastical Emancipation of Women" but apparently did not ordain any women as preachers afterward. In her address to the Union that year the leader spoke feelingly on the action of the conference, stating that it had been a year of unequaled public discussion concerning woman's church relations. The sense of authority in the church is so strong, she said, and woman's capacity for reverence and humility still so great that one cannot wonder at the present situation. Yet the churchmen, she felt, had won no laurels for themselves in their narrow interpretation of the "gentle Gospel." Little more was said of a "Union Church" until her utopian colony was organized in North Carolina some years later.

These sundry and varied views all fit into a pattern, a somewhat rough pattern that shows the general design of her thoughts. As a

young woman she was greatly influenced by Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who belonged to the school of transcendentalism. This philosophy taught self-reliance and spiritual freedom. It also stressed social reforms, such as vegetarianism and a mild form of socialism based on the Fourier thesis. Brookfield Farm was an experiment growing out of this cult.

Vegetarianism was closely linked with temperance as fresh air and water seemed to be one of their tenets. The close relationship of Frances Willard with Mrs. James H. Kellogg, wife of the Dr. Kellogg of Battle Creek Sanitarium, further emphasizes this relationship between temperance and vegetarianism. Mrs. Kellogg, it will be remembered, was made national superintendent for the department of health and hygiene in the Union.

Religious freedom, vegetarianism, and spiritualism were all part of theosophy. When Frances Willard was in England, Annie Besant was the popular leader of this cult. The *Woman's Signal*, of which Lady Henry was editor, had frequent articles in the nineties about Annie Besant and theosophy. One may presume Frances' early interest increased considerably during the years she spent in England when she was surrounded by enthusiastic adherents.[14] Theosophy was not a religion in itself but a cult to encourage the study of comparative religion and to investigate the unexplained laws of nature. It included reincarnation and psychical phenomena.

Thus there was a connection in all these views to which she subscribed. From transcendentalism to theosophy, from vegetarianism to temperance, from mysticism to spiritualism, and from brotherhood to co-operative society—all were but circles within a circle. Her feeling of self-reliance and assured success was pure Emersonianism, as was her broad religious view. Feeling her way along the indefinite path of transcendentalism and spiritualism, she found kindred souls in England in the Fabian Society, theosophy, psychical research, and the London Vegetarian Society.

CHAPTER XIX

Family Responsibility

EAGER admirers of the leader of a great cause are often totally unaware of the petty worries over family matters that harrow the exalted one. So it was with Frances Willard. As she stood before her audience, frail in body, spiritual in countenance, few of her hearers could guess that she had a burden of responsibilities far beyond her share. After election to the presidency of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1879, she carried the full weight of the organization, financial and administrative. Indeed, she swung the largest organization for women of the century and did it without financial backing. No endowment smoothed the rocky path she trod; no large subscriptions bolstered the work of her office. She built her association the hard way, brick by brick, layer upon layer, until she had an edifice which commanded the respect of the world. While engaged in this gigantic task, she was hampered by the petty annoyances of family problems. There was the financial responsibility of her mother and their home, which was no small obligation; yet if this had been all, she could have accounted herself fortunate.

Her father had left a very small estate when he died (1868)—only the home and a few thousand dollars in addition.[1] When Frances returned from Europe, she brought Kate home with her, partly because Kate would contribute to the household expenses, which eased the financial situation.

But when she left teaching to enter the temperance work, there followed days of real want, days in the autumn of 1874 when she actually walked long distances in order to save carfare and went without lunches for lack of money. When the women of the Chicago Union learned this, they managed to give her a salary of one hundred dollars a month. Again she felt a sense of security.

No money was paid her, however, for her work in the national Union, either as corresponding secretary or later as president, until the year 1886. During this interim of nearly ten years after she re-

signed the presidency of the Chicago Union in 1877, she was solely dependent upon whatever fees were given her for lectures, which was a somewhat precarious income. Only as one reads the letters written to her mother with their frequent small remittances can one realize the acute financial struggle that she waged. A letter from Anna to Mrs. Willard (January 16, 1880) paints a vivid picture of her abject need: "Frank is somewhat startled at the amount of the tax bill. When we were in Philadelphia Robert Smith gave me $50.00 for juvenile work in the South. We have received just $5.00 since we started out on this trip. So I must use that $50.00 that I had for the children's work."

On her first country-wide organizing expedition to the South, Frances was dependent entirely upon the generosity of her audiences. Sometimes she did not get enough in one place to buy railroad tickets to the next town so would have to borrow the money to reach her next engagement. Anna Gordon, her secretary, had to budget skilfully their expenses so as to stretch their small income for the livelihood of three people.

From a western trip Frances sent her mother $25 with the advice to buy the best oil stove, get a new gate, paint the parlor, and buy something for herself! She was feeling quite gay at the time, as the day before she had made four speeches and collected $60.[2] A few weeks later she sent her mother $15 and announced that she expected to be home within two weeks, when she would "have the money to pay the coal bill and reimburse Kean."[3] She must have had a run of good fortune at this time, for another letter to her mother began proudly, "Behold fifty dollars!"

Going from town to town, organizing Unions, speaking to audiences night after night, was a wracking ordeal for a woman with the limited physical endurance of Frances. Traveling in the eighties, moreover, was by no means so comfortable as it is today. The railway cars were not ventilated, and, if heated, it was by a stove at one end; but often the coaches were cold and smoky. Church auditoriums at that time were usually warmed by stoves and as a result were often cold and drafty. More important, however, than the discomfort of journeying around the country was the ever increasing pressure of work. If she received only $10 for one lecture, then she had to make that many more lectures to earn enough money to keep the bills paid. Frequently she made many times this amount,

but more often less. If this procedure seems unbusiness-like, it should be remembered that she was lecturing with a purpose—to build up the organization of the Union. Therefore, she was slow to set a price upon her work. Although eventually she made a charge of $25 a lecture, she could by then have commanded easily $100. The worry, the anxiety, and the hardships were wearing on her, however, and kept Anna frightened lest Frances should break down and they all be stranded. Finally (November 12, 1881), Anna took it upon herself to write this frank letter to Mrs. Willard:

You know how tired out Frances is. This campaign is telling on her still more and Hannah Smith, Fannie Barnes and I are agreed that rest she must, or break down physically. Of course when we say this to her, she insists that she cannot on account of the home expenses. Will you please write me not letting F. know you do so, and tell me just how much must be paid to clear up everything due in Evanston, and just how soon it must be paid and to whom. Then I can plan engagements with that in view. She had promised a week to Delaware after this work here, they to pay her as they could, and in view of her tired out condition I yesterday told them to make no engagements and have written Mrs. Jones of Philadelphia that she will spend that week in her home resting. Please let me hear by return mail and then I shall get the letter here.

Kate comes to spend Sunday with us. Love to all. F. is not sick, only languid, has headache in left temple and loses sleep.

Just what these financial obligations were to which Anna alluded is not known, but there were some financial difficulties occasioned by the perfidy of several of her father's friends. To one man she paid the same debt twice because she had been careless in keeping papers; and from another, who had borrowed, she was unable to collect anything because she had neglected to have him sign a note. She never mastered business routine and was much too trusting in financial affairs. In her wonderfully kind disposition she admonished her mother to show no sign of hurt or unfriendliness to these people but to be as nice to them as she always had formerly been. The extent of this financial difficulty is not known, although it probably did not altogether exceed a thousand dollars. But it was just one more burden.

Frances evidently tried to send her mother from $75 to $100 a month besides extras for house repairs and outstanding debts. Rarely did she send a check in these days for $100. Most of her remittances were sent in small sums of $15–$50. Poor Mrs. Willard

patiently sat at home clipping news stories of her famous daughter and compiling very poor scrapbooks out of them, while she tried to make the money Frances sent her at irregular intervals cover the bills. Nor was it an easy task for Anna, only a young girl in her twenties, to arrange enough engagements to cover their expenses, eke out an extra amount for the aging mother, and meet the multiplicity of obligations, besides guarding the fragile health of Frances.

Anna soon announced that a rest for Frank had been arranged at Mrs. Whitall Smith at Germantown, Pennsylvania. She was to go there on November 24 for a "week of relaxation, rest and horseback-riding."[4]

Although some months were easier than others, there was always a constant struggle. A letter from Anna to Mrs. Willard on one of the southern trips inclosed $15, which she said was all they had received in several weeks but that they had been well taken care of everywhere in people's homes. They were both, moreover, "well and duly thankful for this blessing." The letter told of a visit they had made to the home of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, whom they found a most delightful woman. "There is much to enjoy on such a trip as this, we get into southern hearts and homes and find them warm and inviting."

On these promotional trips Frances would be gone for months at a time, then come home for a few days, only to set out on new tours. While she paid for someone to care for her mother, Mrs. Willard's advancing age, now that she was past seventy-five, caused Frances anxiety. If she missed a scheduled letter from her mother, her imagination at once conjured up the worst explanation. Such concern, of course, was another limitation upon her work which always annoyed Anna. The following letter from Austin, Texas (February 22, 1882), is illuminating.

I am heart sick at getting no later news than February 13—nine days ago. Have telegraphed and shall go home if you are "down sick" as I fear. You have done too much for me and sacrificed too much and been too grand a mother for me to fail you when you need help.

You see the last word I had was your telegram so cheery and reassuring "all well." Then on arriving here I found among my 38 letters and postals none addressed in your dear, characteristic hand, but instead, Mary's brief note saying that you "had a bilious attack and Dr. Mettie was caring for you": now you haven't had a doctor in twenty years and am just as uneasy as I can be and it just depends on what sort of a telegram I get whether

I make a bee line for Home. It is only your splendid health and courage that have left me heart-free to work, and the minute I know you are "settled sick" will see me bolting for Home. Mary's words are reassuring because she says not to worry and that I shall know if I am needed but I do worry and I can't help it.

You see, in all this interval since the telegram I have supposed you to be up again. You dear naughty brave heart, I fear you kept back a part of the facts in the case. Now dearest of all the dear to me, remember that I am well and going on splendidly if you are doing well—but if not I'm gwine Home—so there. Do let me hear often. Anna is distressed about you and over my anxiety. She sends tenderest love and sympathy. She will enclose dates and places—pending the telegram for which we wait.

"May God help thee and keep thee and make His face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee and lift up the light of His countenance upon thee and give thee peace," prays thy loving, grateful

DAUGHTER FRANK

Exceptionally fond of her mother, Frances called her "St. Courageous" in remembrance of those patient years on the farm. She loved and cherished her, therefore, beyond the usual affection of a daughter for her mother. Regardless of how far away from home she might be or how important her pending engagements, there was always the worry over the safety and well-being of her parent.

Yet the body suffered from the ceaseless punishment she meted out to herself. Letters from Anna to Mrs. Willard frequently mentioned the pain and bodily distress which Frances endured. She was especially subject to what was then called "neuralgia in the head" but which today would probably be diagnosed as sinus infection. Stuffy trains, drafty halls, and constant worry aggravated the pains almost to the limit of endurance. Anna, as good a nurse as secretary, attempted to relieve the pain by such faithful home remedies as the hot-water bag and camphor. These pains, however, constantly recurred for years. Frances always worked to the point of exhaustion anyway, which did not ease such a condition. There were hundreds of letters which needed her personal attention, new plans to be drafted for the organization, articles to be written, and speeches prepared. A train ride, instead of providing relaxation, always meant a few uninterrupted hours for work. Probably no woman of the century worked so diligently as did Frances Willard. She seldom knew a moment's leisure. Constantly she whipped herself to greater activity, until finally her health gave way completely.

Heavy as was the responsibility of her home and mother, there

were other family complications which harrowed her soul and brought her untold bitterness. Her brother Oliver, who should have been a towering oak of strength for her to lean on, proved a great disappointment. His early death at the age of forty-three (1878) was welcomed by all of them, as it ended a blighted career. Some years later his wife commented that she had "never once wished Oliver back in this life that so wore upon his spirit."[5] But the sorrow he occasioned was nothing as compared to that of his two sons, Oliver Robert and Josiah Frank, the latter named after Frances. There were two girls in the family, but they followed the pattern of their mother. Mrs. Oliver Willard tried to provide for her four fatherless children and finally in 1885 went to Berlin, where she opened a girls' school, the American Home School, 21 Nettlebeck-Strasse.

A few years after Oliver's death Frances attempted to help by taking the oldest child, Robert, a wayward, difficult lad from his earliest years. A penciled note from Frances to her mother on the train to Madison said: "I send you twenty-five dollars. You had better pay Hannah I guess and don't forget we have taken my nephew Oliver [Oliver Robert, usually called "Rob"] for better or for worse, to stay with us in our home and to derive his entire support from what he does for us. Please look after him and see that he lacks nothing that would be for his comfort."[6] Anna must have groaned at this additional expense. How long Rob stayed at this time is not known, but he grew restless although Frances paid for him to study typing and a business course. In the winter of 1882–83 she sent him to the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, which was a preparatory school. She paid out of her pitifully small earnings for his clothes, tuition, board, and room. Although the reports she received from the school were disheartening, she continued to keep up his expenses. Before the end of the year, however, Rob broke bounds and took to the open road.

Several years went by, and then the wanderer wrote the following letter, although presumably this was not the first of the kind he had written. Frances was apparently lecturing in a near-by town.

Lake Side Ranch
July 25, 1885

Dear Aunt,

I suppose you will be surprised to hear from me as I have not written you direct for some time but the fact is I am in something of a strait. Through

my carelessness in lighting my pipe I set fire to the alfalfa and oat stacks which all burned up. They were worth about $400.00 and of course it is going to cripple Harry Silver the owner very much. As he will have to buy feed for his sheep. I told him I would try and pay for it by work but he wouldn't hear of that—but said if I could borrow money he would take it as a loan until next spring. Now what I thought was if I could get $250 or $300 of you and pay you a certain sum each month and you could get his guarantee to send you my wages until it is all paid with interest. I get $25.00 per month so you see it will be about a year that it will take me to pay it and I'll promise to stay here till it is all paid. In this way I won't lose anything by it. Please answer at once and oblige.

Your afft. nephew

P.S. Excuse pencil there is no pen. ROB

Robert was a wanderer who rarely stayed anywhere longer than to earn enough money to go on to the next town. So his offer of repayment was worthless. Frances forwarded the letter to her mother with a scribbled note on the back of it, saying that they themselves had had to borrow money to leave town for their next engagement and that she made only enough to meet current expenses. She begged her mother not to send him a cent, as it was "just another of his inventions to get some money." Months on end would drift by with no word from him, and then Frances would become so worried that she would write to his last known address to ask his whereabouts. She felt an especial responsibility for him as his mother was in Europe. The answers to such inquiries, however, always were that he had left some time previously, leaving no address.

No one but Anna ever realized the grief Frances suffered over Rob. Sometimes a letter from him would throw her into a spasm of despair, with her face blanched white, twisted with anguish, and her little body drooping with utter despondency. She would be days recovering from the effects of these spells of hopeless dejection. As Frances traveled the continent lecturing to thousands, with the newspapers everywhere giving her wide publicity, she had the gnawing sorrow that her nephew was a common tramp and drunkard. A letter to her mother reveals the dismal degradation of Oliver's two sons.

MACKINAW
March 26, 1887

DEAREST MOTHER—

I think poor Rob must not have money or clothes or anything convertible into money so long as he pawns it for drink and cards. He has been for

years down at this level and it would be a sin for us to put him in the way of getting help to do these things. I think we should make our wills so that under no contingency could he or Frank ever get one cent. Money is in their hands like coals of fire—nay like hissing serpents. If Rob would only let us put him in a Refuge for Moral Imbeciles he might be cleaned out and made sane but until he will we are powerless. How pitiful the whole thing is!

No words may measure its depths of sin and misery for them. I am thankful their mother is across the sea and hope she will not return at present. I wish I had seen Frank's letter. As it is I don't know what to think or do. Hadn't you better write to him an earnest exhortation and tell him how Rob has failed and urge him to stand?

Lovingly,
F.

The Frank she mentioned in this letter was her other nephew, Josiah Frank, the younger brother of Rob. He had the wanderlust, too. A few months after writing the above letter Frances visited him, but the encounter left her badly shaken. Anna wrote Mrs. Willard (Auburndale, Massachusetts, October 17, 1887), "I never saw her so heartsick." After several years spent in following in the footsteps of his brother, however, Frank made a "stand," and, while his life was spent in vagabonding, he wrote up his experiences and achieved quite a reputation. But Rob continued to go from bad to worse. Wonder of wonders, the sordid story did not get into the newspapers; but the heartache and humiliation to Frances were almost as great as if it had. The menfolk of her family had never contributed to her happiness, except Oliver when they were children together on the farm. In fact, Frances was the best man of her family. But she felt bitter disappointment over her menfolk. The escapades of Robert were a continual source of humiliation. A report from Mark M. Thompson (March 25, 1884) to Miss Willard's secretary told one chapter of the drab story:

My dear Madam,

I had a lively time with the "kid" for a few days on the train. He was (as the boys say) "off his base,"—in moods he had Delirium Tremens. One afternoon he was suddenly seized with a desire to jump from the train. That night I was obliged to go into his bunk and hold him. Before we reached Los Angeles I had gotten him "off his high horse"; and "Richard was himself again."

He was much embarrassed at finding himself in the society of the young people of my family and other members of our party, but it did not take

long to adjust himself to his new surroundings, at least to some degree. He feels the embarrassment of his personal appearance. I replenished his wardrobe to the amount of $8.00 but this did not do more than meet the absolute necessities. He was without underwear or linen when I found him—Oh! the depths to which the accursed stuff will sink one.

Mr. Willard seems quite well, has had no desire for drink since the 4th day. His general health is good. And I feel sure his state of mind is much better than before. He is thoroughly frightened. He feels sure he would have died in a week if I had not taken him out of the saloon. Of course I am quite willing he should be frightened. I have had several personal talks with him in which he has always expressed an honest purpose to abandon his bad habits and his bad companions.

Thompson's reform, however, was only temporary, and Rob soon wandered off again. The wanderlust is a strange malady which rarely is cured. As Rob once wrote (Wadsworth, Nevada, April 12, 1892) to his grandmother that he had found a place he liked if only he could control his desire to rove around. Then he added this barbed shaft, "Strange the doom of Thy father's son!"

The point naturally arises as to whether Frances was influenced in her temperance work by the sad condition of her brother and nephews. It would, of course, be quite logical to presume she was, except that there are other factors to be considered. She never made any mention of such an influence in her letters to her mother, nor did she even remotely suggest it in any of her writings. Although their condition lent a sordid reality to her temperance work, it seems safe to conclude they were not responsible for her entrance into the reform movement. If her relatives had been foremost in her thought, she would have stressed temperance to the exclusion of all else which she did not do. She placed far greater emphasis on woman suffrage and social reforms than she did on prohibition. Her nephews at the time the Union was organized (1874), moreover, were mere boys, and their unhappy destiny was still shrouded in the mist of the future. So, tempting as it may be to paint a picture of Frances Willard driven into the temperance work because of the drunken men of her family, giving up a brilliant career in the field of education to do so, one must be restrained by the facts. She was, furthermore, too ambitious to permit herself to be diverted from her objective by any such sentimental considerations. She wanted to be an outstanding leader among women; she wanted the love and

plaudits of the crowd; she wanted to be known far and wide. But the plight of her nephews was a source of great sorrow to her and added to the weight of family responsibility at the time when she should have been free to soar to the great heights of leadership of which she was so supremely capable.

Rob continued to the end of his days a wanderer. The younger boy, Frank, fared somewhat better. After following in Rob's footsteps for several years, he broke away from traveling the open road and returned (1889) to his mother in Berlin, where he continued his education. Although he had the same longing to follow the will-o'-the-wisp as did Rob, he brought it under control and used his "expeditions" as the basis for writing. Thus he wrote *Vagabonding through England*, *Tramping with Tramps*, and similar books. After turning over a new leaf and returning to his mother, he was on more friendly terms with his illustrious aunt. Making a tour of England in 1893 while Miss Willard was visiting Lady Henry, he wrote her occasional notes and also called on her several times. The following is a charming letter (March 24, 1893) which shows his better part:

I am finally settled down in this charming place of Lymans and considering my late experiences, I am exceedingly thankful. The tramp trip has been quite interesting as well as amusing, but at the same time it has been rather rough, tough and uncomfortable. I had cold after cold until it did seem as if there would be no let up.

My good friend Maum[7] was more fortunate in that regard yet he too is glad to be back in Civilization again. He has been an awfully pleasant fellow-vagabond, and I could not have picked a more enjoyable companion. He returns to Berlin tomorrow night. I wish that he could have the privilege of seeing you ere he leaves, but he feels so uncomfortable in shabby clothes that his stay in London is necessarily as short as possible.

I hope that I am not to be denied the pleasure of meeting you before I leave for the States and if you will kindly tell me when you are likely to be in London, I shall be very grateful.

He had settled down with his friend Lyman at the Temple to write up his experiences after some weeks of tramping through England and Scotland.

Frances, although far from well, now played the fairy godmother and invited Frank and her two nieces, Mary and Katherine, who were with their mother in Berlin, to visit her at Reigate Lodge.

This was the beautiful country estate of Lady Henry a few miles from London. It was a typical English country place with a large manor house and gardens. When the girls returned home, their mother wrote Frances (Berlin, April 22, 1893): "It will take a long time for these happy children to unfold half the joys and glories of their lovely holiday; and when I hear and realize how much time out of your busy lives, you and Lady Henry gave to making them happy, I am amazed, and burdened even as I think you must have been." Despite her busy life, Frances always remembered these nieces and frequently sent them presents, especially on their birthdays. Life never pressed so close nor was the pinch of circumstances so hard but that she remembered these girls in faraway Germany whom she rarely ever saw. They wrote her beautiful letters, and apparently they were very proud of their famous Aunt Frank.

During those stringent years of the early eighties when Rob was making life very difficult, Frances was plagued by other family problems. She had an uncle who lived in Michigan, her mother's brother, and he was not above letting Frances know his "circumstances." Too feeble to work, he needed care, although he had a grown son. So Frances again heeded the call of one of her kin and sent him regular remittances. A typical letter from him follows:

Paw Paw, Michigan
November 21, 1881

My dear Niece,

I received your kind letter of the 18th inst. and my heart was made glad when you so kindly told me if I wanted any money to write you. I wrote to York State before your last remittance and received from Mrs. James Hill $20.00 and from James Gillman $10.00. This fall I have had to buy an overcoat which with my Dr. bill cost $17.00. I am now in debt for my board awhile but had no trouble in getting credit. My health is quite good at present.

From your uncle
John Hill

Frequent letters from Uncle John acknowledging remittances show how faithfully she made her contribution to his support. She had a heart far bigger than her income, and one wonders how Anna was able to spread so little so far. When Uncle John finally died in 1893, his wife, C. Joie Hill, who had apparently neglected him for years, had the temerity to write Frances for money. Pleading her case well, she wrote from Kalamazoo, Michigan (June 10, 1893), that she

was "just a broken down woman hardly able to sit up." There were also relatives in Churchville who needed help. Sarah Hill, the schoolteacher who once had visited Forest Home and later married, had reached financial need. Frances helped her along, too. A letter (Churchville, New York, May 3, 1893) thanked Frances for her "oft repeated remittances and her loving regard." How many more relatives she helped is not known, but she seemed to be the only one on both sides of the family whom the relatives turned to for financial aid.

How her frail body stood up to the continual exactions made upon her is a marvel. There was never anyone on whom she could lean during all those hard years. There was no softness in her life, but always she was "the hammer that strikes and the anvil that bears," or at least this was so until she met Lady Henry a few years before her death. The load of family responsibility grew heavier as her work demanded more and more of her flagging energy. After 1886, when the Union paid her a definite salary in addition to all traveling expenses and secretarial allowance, her financial worries diminished considerably. Moreover, she published her autobiography at about this time, of which fifty thousand copies sold within a few years. Miss Willard wanted to turn all the proceeds of this over to the organization, but her board insisted she keep it herself. By the early nineties, therefore, the financial strain had lifted. But there still hung over her like a black cloud the rending sorrow of Rob. Her mother died in the summer of 1892, which closed another part of her life. Only six years remained in her own span, and these were spent for the most part under the kindly shelter of Lady Henry Somerset in her luxurious home in England. Worn out and weary from the tempestuous struggle of those earlier years, she was like a wounded eagle nestling near the sheltered cove.

The grandeur of her character nowhere shines forth so resplendently as under the pressure of family responsibility. Frail in body from childhood, highly sensitive to every ill wind that blew, she yet maintained her courage to press on and on. Beset on all sides with cares, responsibilities, and bitter disappointments, she managed to keep her vision clear and to continue work toward her goal. Despite the worries and responsibilities, she was able to smile her way through. With great courage, great hope, she ever refused to recognize defeat.

CHAPTER XX

A Sojourn in England

SADDENED by the death of her mother and exhausted by twenty years of public speaking on behalf of women, temperance, and social justice, Frances Willard sailed for England in August, 1892. Although she was fifty-three when her mother died, it was an insatiable grief to her. From those lonely years on the farm there had existed between mother and daughter a deep bond of understanding and sympathy. Frances expressed this devotion for her mother by the symbolic and endearing name of "St. Courageous." Their close union in thought and spirit gave Mrs. Willard a keen understanding of the activities of her daughter. The following letter gives something of this delightful relationship.

You are a philosopher—I will do as you say in respect to being careful about the Knights of Labor but I will not put the matter aside altogether nor do I think you desire to have me.

Your points wherein you criticize Mr. Litchman are well taken. I am going to send them to him without letting him know from whom they come, and he will open his eyes like two saucers. I will also send him my *How To Win* and try to educate him up to the higher plane. Thus you see, my dear mama, that you seated in your quiet room are sending out an influence of great power over the Knights of Labor and the W.C.T.U.

I think with Mary West that the National Society could ill afford to lose you and I beg you to live one hundred years to hold your daughter back from her too enthusiastic ways of doing, by which I mean, my dear mama, not that I think I am headlong at all but for an enthusiastic nature it is a good thing to have a back strap somewhere about the harness. I thank God every day that he has provided me with one in whom I love best, bless most and think of often.

The loss of one so near beat in upon her soul in the same tragic way that the death of Mary had thirty years before. The haven offered her by Lady Henry Somerset was thus gratefully accepted. Lady Henry had come to America in the fall of 1891 to attend the first meeting of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

So eager to meet the renowned leader was she that, instead of waiting in Boston for the convention to begin, she journeyed straightway to Evanston.

Living in a simple way, Frances was a little flustered at the prospect of entertaining a British aristocrat. She rushed to the neighbors to secure a silver teapot, some choice china, and special table linen to better her setting. In after years Frances gaily recounted to Lady Henry the dismay she and her mother felt at word of her coming and their frantic effort to make an impression. Frances even managed to secure two carriages to meet the train: one for Lady Henry and the other for the maid and baggage. Frances Willard did make a great impression on the Englishwoman, but not because of the two carriages or the borrowed silver. Although Lady Henry had come to America for only a few weeks, she became so attached to Frances that she remained for almost six months. Together they attended the world convention of the W.C.T.U. and the national convention of the Union. Together they attended the stormy political meeting in St. Louis that memorable February, 1892.

It was, indeed, an unusual friendship. Lady Henry was the eldest of three daughters of Earl Somers of Eastnor Castle, in Ledbury, Herefordshire. Before she was quite eighteen she married Lord Henry Somerset, the second son of the Duke of Beaufort. It was a most unhappy alliance, which ended some ten years later in scandalous publicity. Her father, Earl Somers, died in 1883, leaving her, as the eldest child, the responsibility of the management of his broad acres. Bruised and unhappy from her unfortunate marriage, she sought refuge in the old family estate at Ledbury, where for some years she lived an almost solitary existence. Eastnor Castle, about a hundred miles from London, was one of the showplaces of England. Its ancient turrets were offset by the wide expanse of 25,000 acres of land. Although mistress of such wealth, she was lonely. The Church of England frowned on divorce. In that day the notoriety attending such unpleasant domestic misfortune libeled the woman participant.

A little band of Methodists in the village attracted her attention. They were devout people who busied themselves in an expression of love and charity for their unfortunate fellow-men. The friendly cheer of these people banished the gloomy loneliness which had been her lot since her retirement from society. It was not long after

Lady Henry had found a gleam of interest in this band that the Philadelphia Quakeress, Mrs. Pearsall Smith, arrived in England. She had published some years before a book called *The Christian Secret of a Happy Life*, which had given her a wide reputation. She therefore found in England a generous welcome. Moreover, the Smiths were rich industrialists, which made them an especial asset in any reform movement. The connecting link of the story, however, was that Mrs. Smith had been an ardent member of the W.C.T.U. in America and a loyal supporter of Frances Willard. In England she at once joined the temperance organization and met Lady Henry Somerset, to whom she described the magnificent work of Frances Willard.

Lady Henry was just getting her upset life readjusted and beginning to take an interest in a public career when she visited America in the autumn of 1891. She was then forty years old, and Frances Willard was fifty-two. She was a woman of wealth and social position. Frances was a woman who had won international renown in the traditional American way. Yet these women from opposite corners of society felt a strong attraction for each other. Their temperaments and backgrounds complemented each other.

The widest difference of opinion between them lay in their views regarding prohibition. Lady Henry, unrestricted by a Puritan background, was more lenient in her views. Her biographer stated: "Lady Henry was not a prohibitionist. She opposed the Drink Trade because it had become a tyranny that forced men to be drunkards; but she believed that, if the claws of the Trade were cut and men set free to be sober, wine-drinking might be as innocent a pleasure in England and America as it is in Italy and France." Several years later when Lady Henry was giving evidence before the Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing Laws, she frankly admitted she saw no wrong simply in drinking—it was the immoderate drinking which she condemned.[1]

Frances Willard did not arrive in England until September and left by the middle of October so as to reach Denver in time for the national convention of that year (1892). Lady Henry accompanied her, but they both returned to England shortly after that convention. Frances Willard did not come back to America until June, 1894, nearly two years later. These months were spent at the Priory and the castle, but not in idleness.[2] There was the constant bustle of



THE CASTLE

"WHAT AM I TO go BY?? . I.S. —



carrier dove.

Cable Code.

Between F. & W. and I. S.

1892.



Tidgies



Son Toots.

April 13 1892.

Toots. { I am perfectly well and engaged in my usual lines of work. All as usual. Mother and Anna are well. Think of us all after the old approved manner.

Pidgie. { Have arrived safely and well. Think of the Fixed house on the little lawn and reflect accordingly on my state of mind.

Fawn { Have received your letter. Am writing. Love and love and love.

Biffits { Am troubled in my mind about you, lest you may not be well and chirrupy in your spirit. You remember my sad condition when you were in Montreal. The present is strictly analagous so far as disquietude (mental) is concerned.

Mew. { Heads! Anna has written.

Mother { Mother is not well. We are anxious but hope for the best. Have written.

CABLE CODE BETWEEN FRANCES WILLARD AND LADY HENRY SOMERSET, 1892

excitement with an endless stream of telegrams, cables, reporters, and visitors. There was also the planning and direction both of the world Union and of the national Union. While Frances Willard, during this interval, was free from the continual grind of lectures, and Anna Gordon with several secretaries lifted the greater burden of work, she found much to keep her busy. Continually seething with new ideas for a department here or a fresh approach there, her mind was constantly creating. Her colleagues were frequently weary but never bored.

The Union to Frances Willard had always been the vehicle for a variety of reforms. She was, therefore, amazed to find that the British Woman's Temperance Association had remained only a temperance organization. Thereupon she placed her talents at the disposal of Lady Henry in order to refashion the British society and to mold it in the manner of the American Union. The British women naturally resented this interference. It aroused a storm of protest. However, as president of the world Union, with which they had affiliated in May, 1893, Frances Willard had some prerogative in suggesting the policy pursued.

In her address at Exeter Hall on January 9, 1893, she introduced the broader policy. At this time she said: "Some people object to the Do-Everything Policy as a scatteration policy, but I am willing to sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish under the working of the Do-Everything Policy." *Wings*, the organ of the British association, sharply retorted (February, 1893) that "Miss Willard had delivered an animated address principally devoted to the advocacy of woman's suffrage and the Do-Everything Policy." It charged Lady Henry with wielding autocratic power against the will of the executive committee and reminded her that in England all societies were governed by their executive committees. News of the dissension reached the *Chicago Times* (March 11, 1893), which stated that, although Frances Willard had been accorded a welcome "a queen might envy," all had not been lovely. All during the spring of 1893 the controversy raged, the conservatives reminding the members of the unfortunate divergence of opinion in the American Union over their inclusive policy of pursuing a multi-program rather than the single-plank issue of temperance. They even wrote to J. Ellen Foster, who had led the dissident faction out of the Union in 1889, for an open statement regarding the practicality of the Do-Everything

Policy. She promptly wrote the following answer printed in *Wings* (March, 1893).

Your letter has reached me expressing a wish that I should tell you something concerning our difficulties in the woman's Temperance work of America.

The facts are: When the steady, earnest work of the Union was established and known it received unstinted endorsement from the general public.

The churches and the best people everywhere opened pulpits and homes to the Temperance women. We were united in our desire for the overthrow of the liquor traffic and sought to undermine its entrenchment. . . . .

We believed the vote of women would greatly hasten this accomplishment. To our then untrained zeal, it seemed a proper thing to at once adopt as a part of our organized work that of securing woman's vote on the Temperance question. The first resolution on this subject was so mildly worded that the women who approved it considered it little more than an expression of sentiment and not a committal of work.

Since then the broad reform of woman's enfranchisement has been adopted and continually strengthened and is now a recognized part of W.C.T.U. work. Many of us have deeply repented the part we took years ago in that unwise action.

Subsequent to the adoption of woman suffrage was developed the plan of affiliation with politics. About 1881 the president of the National W.C.T.U. resolved to give her personal adherence to the Prohibition Party and soon desired the W.C.T.U. to become espoused to it. This was accomplished only after several years of indirect and concealed approaches. These approaches were made by official and unofficial utterances, by prepared resolutions and addresses at conventions and elsewhere and by personal public appeals to the courage and loyalty of the women.

It should be remembered these influences were brought to bear on women who were either in the hot furnace of suffering through the curse of drink or were so full of unselfish sympathy with those who did suffer that they "bore one another's burdens."

In 1889 the break came. In that year the Iowa delegation to the National Convention which had led in the minority move after a last and hopeless appeal to their determined sisters, withdrew from the convention. Very soon after the Non-partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized.

Woman suffrage and party affiliations would never have been adopted by the old organization if the women of the Local Unions had been consulted. The representatives of the Unions in convention acted under the pressure of influences that were there brought to bear upon them.

Not only have woman suffrage and party espousal been causes of discord and division among ourselves and weakness in the face of our common enemy, but the introduction of many other reforms has had a like tendency.

The Ecclesiastical Emancipation of woman has been prominent among these; its official approval by the W.C.T.U. has brought upon the organization the sanctified wrath of men and women in the church who still quote the Pauline declaration, "I suffer not a woman to teach."

So also certain phases of the Labour problem and of socialism and many other questions of permanent or passing popular interest and but indirectly related to the Total Abstinence movement have been the cause and occasion of distraction of thought within the ranks and a lessening of influence without.

None can measure the discord, the weakness and the delay which have come to the Temperance cause in the United States through the Do-Everything-Policy of the National W.C.T.U. It is an unauthorized assumption of organized power. It distracts and divides the effort and the influence of those whose basis of Christian union in action is the total abstinence pledge. It is the inevitable cause of division among the sisters otherwise united.

Mrs. Foster was a woman of marked ability; and, though she had opposed Frances Willard and therefore might be considered prejudiced, she gave in this letter a fair presentation of the case. One of the shrewdest strategists of her day, Frances Willard led the Union gradually from one advanced position in the reform movement to another until, before the women quite understood what it was all about, they found themselves committed to suffrage, to a political party, to socialism, and similar reforms. She had a vision of what women should be doing which far outdistanced that of any other member of the organization. Her thoughts had wings that soared into the next century while her colleagues remained chained to the leaden present. An outright declaration of a new issue would have met immediate defeat, but her method brought an amazing amount of success.

The Foster letter, therefore, was accurate so far as the facts were concerned; it merely failed to catch the spirit of the Willard leadership which aimed at a woman's movement. But such a letter coming in the midst of a hot dispute was like the bursting of a bombshell. The opposition was not only strengthened but solidified. The *New York Voice* (March 9, 1893), which long had given its support

to Frances Willard, said that Lady Henry was able to understand what so many on this side had come to realize—that the temperance question was closely interwoven with other problems of industrial, social, and political reforms. The paper assured the British women that they would gain by such a broadening in the scope of their work. On the other hand, some of the British press acidly advised Frances Willard to remain at home and run her "Yankee" temperance affairs her own way but to stop meddling with Englsh methods.

This opposition to Lady Henry began shortly after she returned from America late in November, 1892. There she had been thoroughly converted to the American system. But when she sought to introduce it in England her executive council voted thirteen to six against it. Then, so the story went, Lady Henry became an autocrat and ruled the association without consultation or approval of her board. Frances Willard fanned the flame of dissension by supporting Lady Henry both publicly and privately and by coaching her in the American technique. Something of the harsh feeling toward Frances Willard and her interference in British policy is expressed in the following letter (April 20, 1893) from a Helen P. B. Clark:

. . . . I would venture to suggest that in the present unfortunate state of the "British Women" not a few are likely to regard with a little suspicion—shall I say—advice which comes over the water. . . . . There is in many countries, perhaps even America herself may not be quite free from it, a little sensitiveness in regard to plans and methods and interference from abroad. I hope therefore that regard may be had to the danger of at all driving away some of our members by any appearance of their being directed from abroad.

I am most anxious we should retain our esteemed President, but I hope that the Council shall not be obliged to vote wholly for one side or the other as I think there will be many who while most loyal and friendly to the President will yet desire some sort of middle path as to methods, to be agreed upon later perhaps by a wider representation.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* (May 4, 1893) reported the unpleasant affair by saying that internecine war was being waged between two parties in the British Women's Temperance Association. The dispute, said the *Gazette*, arose out of the old question of a titled figurehead or an active, energetic leader. The issue culminated in the

campaign of Lady Henry for re-election in May of that year. If she were defeated, the influence of Miss Willard in the world Union would accordingly be lessened, since she had thrown the weight of her influence so completely into the contest. Lady Henry, however, was sustained, and Frances Willard happily cabled her friends in Chicago the satisfactory results. But it was not a bloodless victory, for 176 branch associations seceded from the "Somerset Party," stated the *New York World* (May 5, 1893). The wound in the organization was slow in healing, and resentment and attacks persisted at intervals to mar her presidency. Finally, she resigned the office in 1903, and, as her biographer said, "the Association settled down to the quiet respectability from which she had raised it." The Do-Everything Policy never really caught on in England but rather served to weaken the organization. The American methods, Miss Willard frankly admitted, were not popular among the Englishwomen, but, through Lady Henry's persistent effort, the membership was increased from a few thousand to one hundred thousand with six hundred auxiliaries. In an effort to bolster up the Do-Everything Policy, Frances Willard wrote a handbook by that name, but even this failed to convert the conservative contingent.[3]

Many Englishwomen were further antagonized by the participation in politics. Writing her friends at the *Woman's Journal* (August 10, 1895), Miss Willard announced that she and Lady Henry had participated in the campaign, speaking for Sir Wilfred Lawson and other temperance candidates of the Liberal party. "What we need is woman's participation in the franchise. Then the temperance, the purity, the wage and old-age pension question will be handled with the wisdom and mercy of the combined heads of the home and the human family." Such sentiments aroused vigorous opposition, as indicated by the following letter (May 30, 1893) from a prominent businessman of London by the name of E. A. Gibson addressed to Lady Henry Somerset:

> I venture to express myself decidedly opposed to the attempted innovations as regards the work of the British Woman's Temperance Association. To place them on a level with Political work is a gross error. The members are united in one common object in combating the Liquor Traffic, and as such have achieved great success. Their record is one of progress, their platform embraces all sections of the community, nothing approaching discord has arisen in their operations, and all hitherto has been love and harmony!

Introduce extraneous subjects and you at once cause friction, dissension, and disaster. No one has any right or title to play with such an organization, or make use of it for their extravagances. If a general association is wanted to work other objects then it is the duty of those desiring such objects to create an association for such work. As a Temperance Association you destroy and wreck the grand work hitherto done by adding Political subjects to their programme. It is a crying shame that the devoted Women who have labored so hard for so many years and with a scarcity of funds that the whole of their machinery and services should be broken up in this extraordinary manner. What may suit America will certainly not suit us. Besides the Temperance Workers in America have nothing like the political influence we Britishers have acquired. I say "Hands off."

The Liberal party was defeated in 1895 and sent for long years into the wilderness. Participation in politics in England as in America had been an empty hope. Furthermore, in entering politics, Lady Henry laid herself open to vicious publicity, which also involved in the whirlpool of notoriety the name of Frances Willard. Much of Lady Henry's income was derived from licensed shops, inns, and public houses. Her antagonists were not slow to use this information. Scores of papers in America picked up the lurid story of Lady Henry living luxuriously upon the income she derived from saloons and brothels. As Frances Willard lived with her for months at a time, her condonation was taken for granted. The explanation as given by the *New York Sun* (January 22, 1893) was quite logical and presumably sound: these properties were under long-term leases made by her father, which she had inherited. Those that had fallen due she had refused to renew, and the others she had endeavored to buy up without success. In the ten years since she had succeeded to the properties she stated that eight such leases had been closed. The affair made a nasty scandal, especially in America. It was a particularly pleasing morsel for Mrs. Leavitt and her group of critics.

Frances Willard had implemented her politics in England by participation in suffrage work, which further irritated many of the British temperance women. She was elected a vice-president of the Central-National Society for Women's Suffrage (England) in the late spring of 1893, according to the *Woman's Herald* (October 19, 1893). She also gave co-operation to the Women's Liberal Federation, which promoted the cause of suffrage. Among the leaders of this society were the Duchess of Bedford, Lady Aberdeen, and Mrs. William Gladstone.

Because of ill health Frances Willard did not return to America for the Chicago Fair of 1893 in the preliminary plans of which she had had an active part. In her place she sent Lady Henry, who had been so well received by Mrs. Potter Palmer, chairman of the Board of Lady Managers, on her previous visit. However, Miss Willard was by no means an invalid. One might even suspect that she used her illness as an excuse to avoid the unpleasant problems arising at home. Anna Gordon returned for the Fair and the national convention held that year in Chicago. The understanding between them was that, if conditions were in too much of a tangle, Miss Willard would come at once. Devising an elaborate code of which the following words are the more important, Anna departed for America while Frances anxiously awaited her clarifying message.

CHICAGO. Safe arrival there and if that word alone it means things not in such terrible shape as we feared.

SHAKY. This word alone means that I have reached Chicago and find things in bad shape.

COME. This I trust will never be sent by this child but if on careful investigation with leaders there is no alternative I would send this word.

TEMPLE. Means that the chief cause of trouble is located there and the additional word.

DANGER. That the difficulty is a serious one.

PUBLISH. Means that the chief cause of trouble is the W.T.P.A. [Woman's Temperance Publishing Association] and the word.

LOST. In addition would mean that it was hopelessly going under unless security could be found.

You will doubtless know the situation by letters before I shall but we have this "in case."

Lady Henry not only represented Frances Willard at the Chicago Fair but also read her annual address to the national convention. This was the only time in all her years as president that Miss Willard did not preside. The subject of her address was "Gospel Socialism." It will be remembered that she had made her political alliance more palatable by calling it "Gospel Politics." So again, in her endeavor to persuade the Union to accept socialism, she presented it as "Gospel Socialism." Despite the pleasing title, Miss Willard left no doubt in her message as to what she meant by it. She said that perhaps the best definition of socialism was that indorsed by the Trades Union Congress at their recent meeting in Bel-

fast, when they adopted the principle of collective ownership and control of all means of production and distribution. But Gospel Socialism appealed to the women of the Union no more than Christian Socialism. Yet, disappointed in her message as they were, they were utterly downcast at her absence.

It was not until June, 1894, that Miss Willard again set foot on native land. Many friends were at the pier to meet her. As told by the *New York Tribune* (June 21, 1894), the great welcoming demonstration was held at the Calvary Baptist Church. The large auditorium was packed with a gay crowd in holiday spirit to celebrate the return of their beloved leader. A large bouquet of pink roses tied with white satin ribbon was presented to her, so large, indeed, as almost to obscure her face from the eager audience. Delegates representing the King's Daughters and Sons, the Woman's Home Missionary Society, the National Prohibition party, the New York City Suffrage Society, and the Order of Good Templars were present. Many of her old friends throughout the country sent telegrams of greeting; the most unique one was a telegram from the president of Ohio Wesleyan University which said simply, "Ohio Wesleyan confers upon you degree of Doctor of Laws today congratulations and welcome home." Dr. Bashford was an old friend of Frances Willard and a loyal supporter of women so that it was not surprising that he should link her homecoming to the "year of jubilee" in celebration of the university's semicentennial. She was the third woman to be given an honorary degree, according to the *Woman's Journal* (July 7, 1894): Maria Mitchell, professor of astronomy at Vassar, and Amelia B. Edwards, the Egyptologist, being the other distinguished women to be so recognized. The reading of the telegram brought rapturous applause. Papers and journals across the country reported the news of this unusual honor and made pleasing comment upon it. The *Woman's Journal* (September 1, 1894) said that the university had distinguished itself by conferring the degree of LL.D. upon Frances Willard and that Dr. Bashford in giving the degree had stated that, by adding the title to her name, she honored the university more than it had honored her.

Several days later the Massachusetts Union entertained her at the Hotel Vendome in Boston. Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Mary Livermore, and other notable speakers made the occasion memorable with their kind words and genuine welcome. The greatest ovation,

however, came from the home-folks in Chicago and was cleverly timed for her birthday, September 28, 1894. The intervening months of the summer she spent at Eagles' Nest in the Catskill Mountains with Anna Gordon and two stenographers. Miss Willard had her handbook on methods—*The Do-Everything Policy*—to complete; a small book on exercise very neatly called a *Wheel within a Wheel* to write; and her annual address to prepare—a considerable amount of work to accomplish in one brief summer. Furthermore, Lady Henry arrived in August.

Eagles' Nest was a delightful retreat in Twilight Park situated on jagged High Peak some two thousand feet above sea-level and at the head of beautiful Kaaterskill Cove, New York. The cottage consisted of one large living-room, a kitchen annex, and maid's room on the first floor and two bedrooms on the second. The white-ribbon women of New York furnished it.[4] It was not until late in September that Frances returned to Evanston.

The homecoming made of her fifty-fifth birthday the greatest anniversary party ever given to an American woman. As the *Chicago Tribune* (September 29, 1894) expressed it, the West gave its welcome to Frances Willard. That afternoon Willard Hall in the Temple was packed to overflowing. A beautiful fountain, a gift from Mrs. V. H. Danforth of Chautauqua, was unveiled and also a marble bust of Miss Willard. As part of the ceremony, fifty-five children marched past her in a procession, each dropping a rose at her feet as a symbol of her fifty-five years. The old friend and colleague of Frances Willard, Emily Huntington Miller, who had been on the board of the Evanston College for Ladies and now occupied her former post as dean of the Woman's College, responded to her greeting.

Eight o'clock that evening some two thousand people, all the auditorium would hold, assembled at the First Congregational Church. Among the notable speakers on the evening's program of tribute was Henry Wade Rogers, president of Northwestern University. It was eminently fitting that Mrs. Miller, the dean of women, who spoke at the afternoon meeting, and Dr. Rogers, who spoke at the evening session, should pay homage to Frances Willard not only because of her early connection with the institution but also because she was at this time a trustee of the university. Dr. Rogers spoke in glowing terms, proclaming her an uncrowned queen.

The Catholics paid their tribute to her through W. J. Onahan, chairman of their national prohibition committee. Also the Good Templars, the Illinois Federation of Labor, and the Negroes sent representatives to speak a word of greeting. It was a great ovation that the people of Chicago gave her and an even greater demonstration of their affection. No other woman in American life has ever had the love and adoration of countless thousands of men and women.

The national convention of 1894, which met in Cleveland, brought five hundred delegates to welcome Frances Willard back into active service. Long and patiently they had awaited her return and now eagerly demonstrated their gladness in seeing her again. Graciously she reciprocated the honor Dr. Bashford had conferred upon her by presenting him to her convention at Cleveland.[5]

But all this love and loyalty failed to keep their distinguished leader satisfied. On March 6, 1895, she sailed again with Lady Henry for England, having remained in America less than a year. Aside from the pleasant surroundings at Reigate Cottage and Eastnor Castle, Frances Willard's obvious partiality for England was rooted in the harmonious intellectual atmosphere she found there. Her unorthodox views had horrified many of her friends in America, but they found sympathetic acceptance in England by a somewhat small, but notable, group.

The brilliant historian, Carlton J. H. Hayes, sums up this entire cycle of unorthodoxy as the "New Thought." Toward the close of the century, he says, there were groups of intellectuals, or so-called intellectuals, who curiously combined with a devotion for science, material ease, and "social uplift" a penchant for religious novelties such as theosophy or Bahaism, and for spiritualistic séances with mediums or other nebulous ideas termed "New Thought." It was supposed to be the gateway to a broader humanitarian world and the breakdown of narrow sectarianism.

This new world of thought, open to Frances Willard in England with many interesting friends to share it with her, was practically closed to her in America through narrow provincialism. It is highly probable that Anna Gordon never indorsed all this intellectual experimentation.

There may have been another reason why Miss Willard was so

inclined toward England, an even more personal reason than intellectual freedom—romance. In June, 1895, the *Mascot*, a London paper, was credited with an announcement that Miss Frances E. Willard, president of the W.C.T.U., who was then in England, would soon marry an Englishman of wealth and social position who was also prominent in reform work. What the basis for this story was, is not known. The prophecy was not fulfilled.

With the waning of summer, Frances Willard again turned her thoughts toward home and the national convention of the Union to be held that autumn at Baltimore. She arrived in New York City on her birthday, September 28. An immense bouquet of red and white roses was delivered to her before she left the boat and partially screened her face from the host of reporters who met her at the pier. The *New York Tribune* (September 29, 1895) reported the following interview:

I worked hard all the time I was in England, but it has done me good. Some people say that I have been lolly-gogging around over there; sleeping in a hammock and devouring novels. That is all wrong. I have not been in a hammock this summer. I have been just as busy as I would have been if I had remained over here. I have been right at Lady Somerset's side all the time and we have accomplished a great deal. Of course, the work, you understand, is just the kind that is carried on here.

I have more work ahead of me than I can possibly accomplish. Much of what I do will depend upon Lady Somerset's plans. We have formed a close alliance in our work, and will go hand in hand pretty much from this on. I will immediately go into a sanitarium for a rest of two weeks. I do not want to be disturbed while I am completing my annual address to the 23rd annual convention of the W.C.T.U. After that my plans are problematical. I want to go through the South this winter with Miss Gordon.

Of course we have that Polyglot Petition on our hands as yet. It has been presented at Washington and in England. But we want to carry that petition around the world and will do so if possible. Lady Somerset may be able to go to India this winter, and if she does I will doubtless go with her. She is just at present greatly interested in the Armenians and their cause.

In handling this Polyglot resolution or petition we do not claim that it will accomplish what it asks for. It is more of a spur upon the law-making bodies of the civilized world than anything else. We want to show to them what millions of people all over the world want in the way of a suppression of the rum traffic. [Commenting on the excise plank adopted by the Republicans, she said:]

It is almost enough to make me join in with the Republicans, although I am a Prohibitionist above everything else. I am not a Prohibitionist because I believe that Prohibition will prohibit or that the doctrine as preached can be enforced. I am a Prohibitionist because it is what I would like to see if it could be accomplished.

The announced plan that she and Lady Henry would in the future work more closely together was not pleasing either to the British or to the American societies. The British women, as has been pointed out, resented her interference, while the American women were jealous of the time and energy she spent in England. This was an unwise statement. It was followed by another equally unwise: "Abroad the temperance Societies are laboring earnestly, but somehow or other they are not able to make the same advancement that characterizes the movement in this country." While this pleased the American women, many in England, especially those who had resented most her interference in their policy, felt embittered.

She went at once to Dr. Cordelia A. Greene's sanitarium at Castile, New York, for several weeks of rest and quiet to prepare her annual address for the forthcoming convention. That year the national convention met at Baltimore. It proved to be an especially important meeting, as dissension broke out and the press became caustic. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (October 20, 1895), long known to be sympathetic with her work, said editorially:

> The address delivered last Thursday by Miss Willard at the opening of the annual convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union at Baltimore was a curious piece of patchwork. So far from being confined to the cause of temperance it branched out into general politics in a grotesque way. Socialism supplies the material for a large patch of this quilt. The truth is Miss Willard is the victim of a radically wrong theory of reform.

The doctrines she had assimilated in England with such enjoyment were not welcomed in America, especially not by the general public or the press. The women of the Union whom she had made politically minded were also growing restive under her command to indorse the Prohibition party year after year. Whisperings and undercurrent opposition were growing, although she still held them under control by the magic of her personality. The long visits to England, moreover, began to lessen the efficacy of her power.

After the convention Frances Willard returned to the sanitarium at Castile and here received from Susan B. Anthony at Christmas time her anxious note. "Is it true," she asked, "you are ill as reported in the papers, and if so, how ill? Too ill for me to come and see you?" Early in the new year Miss Anthony journeyed to the sanitarium to visit her friend and discuss the old days. It was probably the last visit these two pioneers had, at least the last long visit. The shortening rays of the sun were already reflected in the wan face and frail body of Frances Willard. Yet she insisted after a prolonged rest in making another speaking tour through the South. This arduous ordeal completed, she sailed April 22, 1896, for England and her delightful haven with Lady Henry.

A farewell party was given her on the eve of her departure from New York under the auspices of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance. Some of those present to wish her *bon voyage* were Mrs. Fannie I. Helmuth, president of Sorosis; Mrs. Jennie Croly, president of the New York Federation of Women's Clubs; Bishop John P. Newman; Mary Lowe Dickinson, president of the National Council of Women; and Dr. D. H. Mann, Worthy Chief Templar. Her last word to the press as she went aboard her boat was a message to the white-ribbon women to give fullest support to the Armenian Relief.[6]

Lady Henry had become interested in the Armenians from the beginning of their tragic fate, which had become increasingly worse. A wave of nationalism had gripped the Balkan States during the latter part of the century. This feeling spread to Armenia in the early nineties, causing rioting in 1892, followed by open rebellion in 1894. The Turkish sultan put down the uprising in the ruthless fashion of medieval savagery. About two hundred thousand Christian Armenians were brutally slaughtered, which roused a protest from the great powers of the earth. Relief associations were organized in various countries to send food, medical supplies, and a medical staff to these persecuted people. America sent supplies—and Clara Barton. In England the women organized an Armenian Women's Committee, of which Mrs. William Gladstone was chairman and Lady Henry was secretary. Frances Willard was vice-president of the Armenian Relief Committee in America, which had branches in Boston and Chicago.

Upon her return to England in the spring of 1896, therefore, she



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plunged into the work of Armenian Relief. In the summer she and Lady Henry went to Normandy for a bicycling tour. This was their vacation from the strenuous work of relief and the routine work of their respective temperance societies. But they had no more than reached the delightful countryside of northern France than they learned of the misery of five hundred Armenian refugees who had escaped to Marseille. Giving up their holiday, they at once set out for this southern French port.

They found conditions worse even than described by the newspapers. These poor victims of Turkish wrath, housed in an open barn and given a few cents a day for bread by the local authorities, were in need of medical care, food, and shelter. Securing a wing of an old hospital, which showed the weathering of three centuries, they cleaned and fumigated it, put in clean cots, and arranged for nurses and doctors. It was a makeshift hospital at best, but clean and infinitely better than the dirty sheds which had provided temporary shelter for these mangled victims. Both women appealed to their respective temperance organizations to send them money. The relief at Marseille was well organized and placed in competent hands before these weary women left the harrowing scene to return to Reigate Cottage.

Frances Willard was exhausted from the ordeal and unable to leave for America until the end of October. She had secured the admission of several hundred Armenian refugees to America, where they were cared for by the loyal women of various Unions until work could be found for them.[7] When she arrived in New York, the *New York Tribune* (November 8, 1896) reported her arrival:

> . . . . It is Miss Willard who has been chiefly instrumental in helping the persecuted Armenians of Turkey to come to America. . . . .
>
> The trip across was rough and Miss Willard was confined to her stateroom most of the time. She was much fatigued by the voyage and referred all questions to her secretary. Miss Gordon said that Miss Willard had enjoyed her trip abroad and had been deeply touched by the sufferings of the Armenians who had escaped to Marseilles, where she and Lady Henry Somerset did so much for them.

After a few days' rest she proceeded to St. Louis, where the national convention of the Union was soon to meet. Although she had planned to go back to England early in the spring (1897), the con-

dition of affairs in the Union made it imperative for her to remain at home. Consequently, she never again returned to Lady Henry's charming home, which was a veritable elixir for her mind and soul. From the first brief trip to England in 1892 until she returned from her last trip in the autumn of 1896, Miss Willard had spent about twenty-nine months abroad, or nearly two and a half years out of four.

During this period she was not well, suffering from anemia as a result of overwork and lack of proper care and diet. On the other hand, she was by no means an invalid and carried on a surprising amount of work. From time to time she made a number of addresses both in London and elsewhere in England and Scotland. The Methodist church in England and Canon Wilberforce, chaplain of the House of Commons, gave her splendid support. Despite the pecking criticism of some of the temperance women, Frances Willard had a recognized position through the hearty indorsement of the Methodists. Just as the backing of this denominational group had given her and the Union their first foothold in America, so it provided her with an excellent public background during the years she spent in Britain.

Miss Willard also made brief visits, while abroad, to Switzerland, Spain, and Germany. Her sister-in-law, Mary Bannister Willard, and the children were still living in Germany, so her visit there provided a real family reunion. The major part of the time, however, was spent with Lady Henry either at Eastnor or at Reigate Priory. Although the direction of the two organizations—the national Union and the world Union—placed a heavy load of work upon her, yet she found time during these years in England to write. The memorial volume to her mother, *A Great Mother*, was written during the long sorrowing months of 1893 at Reigate. Handbooks like the *Do-Everything Policy* were largely written in England, and for some months she ran an autobiographical series of her life in the *Woman's Signal*, of which Lady Henry was editor.

Thus the days in England were busy ones, with a staff of three or four stenographers besides Anna Gordon kept busy all the time. Yet this was not nearly so strenuous as her activities of the eighties, when she combined speaking tours, writing, and direction of the Union in addition to a host of other activities, such as politics, suffrage, church work, and socialism. Compared to the exacting life

she led in America, the time spent in England was comparatively quiet and no doubt aided in the prolongation of her life.

Yet these were sad years. As she went further and further afield in socialism, spiritualism, and kindred topics, a chasm grew between her and her old friends. They all loved her personally, but many felt estranged by her new philosophies. There was also a feeling of hurt that she should prefer to spend so much time abroad rather than with them, nor was this feeling eased any by the knowledge that in England she mingled with the aristocracy.[8] Thus there was a perceptible loosening of the old bonds during these years, and Frances Willard, sensitive as she was, felt the changing current.

CHAPTER XXI

The Weight of Organization

FRANCES WILLARD ascribed the success of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to its ever widening program of activity, "ever lengthening its cord and strengthening its stakes." By the mid-nineties the Union had sponsored the World's Union, a temperance hospital, a publishing association, a lecture bureau, and a Chicago office building called the "Temple." In addition to these projects, the Union proper carried on forty departments of activity. For an unendowed association this far-flung organization was a marvel that has never been equaled before or since.

The creation of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was not entirely an original idea with Frances Willard. An attempt had been made for such a union in 1876. The American women called an International Temperance Convention for early June, 1876, to meet in Philadelphia. But the organization had been created prematurely and lacked vigorous leadership. It soon withered and died. Thus matters remained until Frances Willard made her dramatic roundup of the states and territories in 1883.

Visiting the Chinese quarters of San Francisco, she was shocked at the havoc of the opium dens. Overnight she became an internationalist. Accordingly, in her annual address to the Union in Detroit of that year she told of her desire to send missionaries to foreign lands to carry the white ribbon and to organize unions for "home protection." This seemed visionary to many of the women, but they grudgingly assented to sending out one woman as an experiment, while a definite plan should be formulated during the ensuing year and presented at the next annual meeting. Early in the year 1884, therefore, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt courageously set forth upon what proved to be a nine-year round-the-world journey. She had been the head of a girls' school and later president of the Boston Union. Starting with little more money than expenses to

Hawaii, she was expected to be so successful as to secure funds there to carry her on to Australia and thus to keep going from one country to another. During these nine years only three thousand dollars was sent her from America, mostly penny collections. Meeting with an unexpectedly warm response, however, she was able to form strong organizations in Hawaii, Australia, Japan, and China.

Mrs. Leavitt's amazing success encouraged Frances Willard to push a formal organization for a world Union. It was not until 1885, however, that she was able to command sufficient support from the women for this new venture. In her annual address of this year she said that the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union must have a common objective point—"a thread of uniform purpose on which to string pearls whose soft, pure light will belt the world like a spiritual equator before the youngest here is gray." The thread of uniform purpose which she devised was the Polyglot Petition.[1] Mrs. Leavitt and the other missionaries sent out by the Union carried petitions for the signatures of their constituents asking for legal restrictions against the sale of alcohol and opium. These petitions eventually were to be made into one mammoth petition which she planned to present to the heads of government around the world.

In 1888 the second missionary, Miss Jessie Ackermann, was sent to Australia to follow up the work of Mrs. Leavitt. She paid her own expenses for the first year and thereafter was supported by the people in the Commonwealth.[2] Dr. Kate Bushnell and Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew were sent to India in 1890, and Miss Alice R. Palmer went to South Africa a year later. In 1892 Mary Allen West, editor-in-chief of the *Union Signal*, went out for intensive work in Japan but died within a year of her residence there. She was replaced in 1896 by Miss Clara Parrish, who was the seventh missionary to be sent out by the Union. At the world Union convention held in Geneva in 1903, the title given these workers in the foreign field was "World's White Ribbon Missionaries." At this time nine more missionaries were appointed, but these included women from other lands as well as America.

These plucky women went into strange lands alone and without funds to carve out a new destiny for the Union. They carried the white ribbon to the black, the brown, and the yellow races, even into the hinterlands of Asia and the islands of the tropics. By the

time of the fourth biennial world Union convention in 1897, Frances Willard could count a membership of well-nigh two million women scattered in all parts of the earth. Delegates to that convention came from Australia, Belgium, Burma, Brazil, Bahama Islands, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Iceland, India, Japan, Madagascar, New Zealand, North Africa, and the United States. From such pioneering effort had come an international society uniting women in a common bond of sisterhood.

Since the object of the world Union was to unify the work of women in temperance and social reforms, it was a highly significant organization as one of the first expressions of international federation. She held that all modern thought and effort was tending toward a universal federation which would one day control the "world's forces in the interests of peace and of every right reform." Women everywhere now had the opportunity to take an initial step toward this great consummation. "We believe," she stated, "that the women of the whole world will be brought together into a universal sisterhood, and so help to prepare the way for that federation of all nations and of all peoples, toward which the philanthropist is working," and which the poet has expressed thus:

> The war drums throb no longer, and the battle flags are furled.
> In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

This world Union was not intended, she emphasized, to hamper the plans of any society but was merely to unite them all into one common organization to further their mutual aims. By such a world-wide network reform workers of every land could communicate with one another as to their common problems and method of work.

Frances Willard also stressed the need of this international organization to prevent the use of forceful methods in the sale of alcohol and narcotics to savage and semicivilized communities. "There are immense and hitherto neglected scandals in relation to this forcing of the worse forms of drink upon the natives throughout the continent of Africa, and in other places, by the so-called civilized merchants of all nationalities." Furthermore, she pointed out that, as the uncivilized portion of the world was rapidly being divided among the great powers, now was the time for vigorous action to be brought upon each government for the protection of these

helpless peoples. She cited the work of the government of Canada in prohibiting the sale of all alcoholic beverages to the Indians in their northwest territory.

The value of the Polyglot Petition as it was carried around the world by the W.C.T.U. missionaries was that it gave these penniless messengers of an ideal a tangible, definite work to present in each community they visited. It was a nucleus around which they could rally the women. With the aid of the petition they could arouse sentiment for home and native land.

The missionaries had no money to build missions, no skill to heal the sick, but only an ethical idea. If they had not been able to couch this idea in some practical line of work, their mission might have failed. The Polyglot Petition caught the imagination of the women even as the Home Protection Petition had in America some years earlier. It was another masterpiece of strategy. Frances Willard often paid tribute to those gallant women who went into unknown lands alone and without funds to plant the Union. Without the cooperation of these missionaries, she would say, the world organization could never have been established. But without the petition their work would have been fruitless.

When the mammoth petition was finally pieced together, it had seven million names signed in fifty languages. But Miss Willard's vision of sailing around the world with the petition, visiting government after government, was finally shattered by the cold logic of Lady Henry, who doubted if the rulers would be duly impressed by their descent upon them. Although the petition was presented to President Cleveland on February 19, 1895, Miss Willard finally made a public announcement, reported in the *Woman's Journal* (May 4, 1895), that the plan for a special round-the-world trip with the famous Polyglot Petition would be abandoned, as it was thought the work would be better advanced by taking it up more slowly in each particular country.

The first convention of the world Union was in 1891, with representatives from forty countries. At this time a formal constitution was adopted which provided for officers and work. With gracious courtesy the presidency was offered to Mrs. Leavitt, the first missionary, who wisely refused. She was then made honorary president, and Frances Willard was chosen active president. The chief executive of each national society became a vice-president of the

world Union, which was to convene biennially, at which time the executive committee would elect president, corresponding secretary, and treasurer. Each national Union also elected a secretary and a treasurer to act locally in matters pertaining to the world Union. The plan of work was similar to that of the national Union in that departments were conducted by a superintendent. Each nation was free to choose just what departments of work to adopt, but the bylaws especially recommended the departments of legal status, press, and literature as the most fundamental. The legal department was concerned with temperance, social purity clauses in all new international treaties, and enforcement of such provisions in existing ones. It is interesting that Frances Willard carried the department of franchise into the world Union.[3] The last of these biennial meetings over which Frances Willard presided was held in 1897 at Toronto, Canada. Here she clearly and forcefully trumpeted for equality.

This was a spectacular convention, and it received wide publicity. Local and provincial officials of Canada took part in the program. The Hon. A. S. Hardy, premier of Ontario and Liberal leader, spoke at one of the banquets. The Hon. George W. Foster, an influential member of the recent Conservative ministry, was also on the program. He described at some length the manner in which temperance instruction had been made compulsory in the schools of Ontario through the efforts of the W.C.T.U. Reported by the *Outlook* (November 6, 1897) as holding that convention as if by hypnotism, Miss Willard embodied Napoleon's ideal of imperialism—absolute ruler by the will of the ruled. She was thus able to secure the adoption of a number of significant resolutions.

> *Resolved*, That we believe unquestioningly in that theory of equality between man and woman that is set forth in the first chapter of Genesis and supplemented by the assertion of Paul "in Christ Jesus there can be neither male nor female," and that believing this, we pledge ourselves to a constant effort, by pen, by influence, by voice, by prayer, to bring in that good day when this equal "dominion" shall be recognized in the home, in the church, in the law and at the ballot box.

Representatives were present from countries like Japan, where women were so completely unrecognized that one marvels at the adoption of this resolution. How actively the Union worked for suffrage in other lands than the United States would be difficult to

appraise, though Her Majesty was asked to use her influence in obtaining for women throughout the British Empire "the inestimable boon of political freedom."

A resolution on labor, also, seemed somewhat surprising in view of the restrictions placed on labor organization in many countries there represented. But this, too, was adopted. It stated that they favored the eight-hour day and the Sabbath as a day of rest; that they were opposed to strikes; and that they believed the liquor traffic was the great enemy of labor.

A peace resolution, too, was included, which is highly interesting in view of the Hague Peace Conference, which convened two years later. It read: "As followers of the Prince of Peace we are absolutely opposed to war or anything that fosters the war spirit, and that we urge upon our members everywhere the discouragement of the military drill in the public schools or in Sabbath schools."

The Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty had but recently failed to pass the Senate. Passing a resolution on this action, they stated their regret that this treaty, which had the support of the people, was not ratified. The weight of the World Union was thus from the beginning behind peace, disarmament, and arbitration. In large measure Frances Willard was able to transfer to the world Union the most cherished precepts formerly indorsed by the national Union: temperance, suffrage, peace, and labor. Within a generation all these reforms were discussed by government after government, and labor and drug reforms found particular expression through the most magnificant experiment of all time—the League of Nations.

The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, like the national Union, grew into a strong organization. Frances Willard was its president until her death in 1898, which gave the infant society a unified and experienced leadership for the first fifteen years of its existence. By this time the mold had been set, and the society remains today a splendid monument to her imagination and untiring energy. Yet the extra burden the creation of such an extensive organization placed upon her already overladen life proved a crushing weight.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association was another large project which sapped her interest and vitality. Beginning in the early eighties under the ambitious leadership of Mrs. Matilda Carse of Chicago, it soon reached an annual gross income of $129,-

750.45.[4] Their work included publication of the *Union Signal*, pamphlets, leaflets, and books. In the late nineties the association reached an output of more than sixty million pages a year.

The whirlwind of financial disaster in 1893 wrought havoc in the weak structure of their organization. If Lady Henry had not sent them five thousand dollars, it is dubious if the Publishing Association could possibly have survived. The following letter from Ruby I. Gilbert to Anna Gordon in May pictures the dire situation:

> When Mrs. Grow read me what you said about Lady Somerset's making the $5,000.00 loan my suggestion was to write and enclose note, asking that the money be cabled, if all was satisfactory. Mrs. Carse with Mrs. Grow thought we had better cable as I did yesterday.
>
> As you know or will soon know, Mr. Schumacher utterly failed to respond and Mr. Demerest only sent $250.00. Mrs. Grow does not seem to have anywhere to turn outside of where some of us suggest. Miss Pugh gave us a check for $2,000.00 in February at Mrs. Carse's request, which is due tomorrow, Mr. Speer loaned $1,200.00 in December and is anxious for it, also Temple money, and we had $700.00 last week and $800.00 yesterday for pay roll from Temple funds. Mrs. Hogans is going to raise $2,000 to cover that amount which Mrs. Carse gave us a check for to pay Mr. Elderkin in order to close the Michigan Street Bldg. deal. And the smaller amts. Mrs. Grow knows nothing about the misery of repeatedly having to put off collectors. I've thought often I'd send them in to her but I have not the heart, neither can I attend to my own work and be financier.
>
> The stock, of course, not going off like hot cakes—though Mrs. Skins has a promise to take 10 shares from Narcissa White Kinney and I wrote her as polite an invitation to speedily invest as I could. Money is evidently hard to get—and receipts don't equal expenses—the law of demand and supply seeming out of whack—somehow!
>
> With very much love all around—goodnight.

Mrs. Caroline Grow, who was the new business manager of the Publishing Association, also wrote Anna (May 11, 1893) explaining their financial problems. Her greatest problem, in the face of their dire necessity, was in obtaining the consent of the board to turn down dishonest advertising for the *Union Signal*. John St. John, she related, was furious when she refused his advertisement for some mining stock. In spite of criticism, Mrs. Grow had determined to keep spurious advertisements out of the columns of the *Union Signal*, which reduced their badly needed revenue. Frances Willard in her last address before the national Union (1897) spoke

of the financial troubles of the Publishing Association and said that "Mrs. Grow often knows not where to secure the money for current expenses." The situation grew steadily worse until finally in 1903 the Publishing Association was closed and the national Union bought the *Union Signal*, which thereafter it published.

The National Temperance Hospital was yet another enterprise which demanded the vitalizing attention of the leader. Her approval of this venture was solicited by Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett of Chicago, who copied the idea after the Temperance Hospital of London, where patients were successfully cared for without the administration of any medicine containing alcohol. The hospital was formally opened on May 4, 1886, at 3411 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago. It prospered so that by 1888 they had to move to a larger building at 1619 Diversey Avenue. But Frances Willard and the hospital board felt they should have their own building. This was the beginning of endless grief. Yet after the depression of 1893, Dr. Bayard Holmes of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago offered to erect a building on their property at a cost of $150,000, with the supervision of the hospital to remain with Dr. Burnett. This offer they declined. After Frances Willard died, the board renamed the institution the Frances Willard Hospital. It continued as a temperance hospital for some years until necessity compelled the board to sell.

A somewhat smaller project was the Woman's Lecture Bureau of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Frances Willard had long felt that with the number of women in their organization making lectures they should conduct their own bureau. She made an effort to launch such a program in 1876, when she was corresponding secretary of the national Union. But it was not then feasible. Although another feeble effort was made for this in 1887 under the temporary direction of Dr. Bessie Cushman, it was not until 1893 that the project was fully developed under the guidance of Lucy Anthony, niece of Susan B. Anthony. It apparently was not incorporated. Like these other institutions, it was established by the Union although assuming a quasi-independence. Thus the lecture bureau included on its list not only women but men who had no direct relationship with temperance. It supplied speakers on popular questions of the day to schools, chautauquas, summer camps, army posts, and Young Men's Christian Associations. "It

accomplishes what no other bureau of the kind does, in as much as it keeps its speakers in the field constantly employed on an average of four evenings in the week the year through.''[5]

The greatest weight of all was the ''Temple.'' This was a stupendous project, which, by the bitter dissension it engendered, almost wrecked the Union. The Temple was another brain child of Matilda Carse, who had promoted the Publishing Association. The women of the central Union of Chicago had long met in the Y.M.C.A. building, but one day in 1883 they were told that thereafter the building could be used only by the men. Mrs. Carse, the capable president of the local unit, decided that not only should the Chicago Union have a permanent home but the national Union as well. Forthwith she presented her plan to Frances Willard, who was more than delighted at the idea of such a beacon light for temperance and womankind. Besides being a shrine for the temperance women of the world, the Temple was to be an office building to provide a handsome yearly income for the Union. In July, 1887, the Woman's Temperance Building Association was incorporated, with capital stock of $500,000, shares to be sold at $100 each. After the disposal of the stock it was expected to float $300,000 worth of bonds at 5 per cent. Mrs. Carse counted on each local chapter subscribing to at least one share of stock; but if only half of the ten thousand local unions so subscribed, the amount would be raised. Thus her scheme was by no means so fantastic as it might appear. But to expedite the building of the Temple, stock was sold to capitalists with the privilege of redeeming it within five years with interest at 5 per cent annually. This was her first mistake. It immediately placed the ownership of the building in other hands than the Union and at the same time incurred a financial obligation which seemed more stupendous to the women of the Union as the years rolled by.

The plan, however, was first presented to the women at their annual meeting in Nashville in 1887. Accepting it as a glorious dedication to the cause of God and home and native land, the women at once pledged over six thousand dollars, which they doubled within a year. A board of directors was formed, which included Frances Willard, Matilda Carse, Esther Pugh (national treasurer of the Union), William Deering, and James B. Hobbs. The last two were well-known Chicago financiers. A leasehold was secured on an ex-

cellent corner, LaSalle and Monroe streets, at $35,000 a year. Burnham and Root, the finest architects in Chicago, were employed to draft plans for a twelve-story building. On the first floor was a large auditorium, beautifully finished, called Willard Hall. The building was completed in May, 1892, just in time to catch the women in the full force of the panic. Although the original cost of the building was to be $800,000, which even with the panic the Union could probably have managed, the many final changes made in the blueprints added an extra $450,000, or half again as much as first estimated. As financiers had underwritten the stock issue, the women were slow to subscribe, with the result that when the edifice was finished only $76,618.05 of the stock had been bought by their own members. With the coming of the panic in 1893, the stock bubble burst, and Mrs. Carse was caught in a storm of abuse and vilification.

Frances Willard was now in England resting from the havoc of politics and the deep grief of her mother's death. Although criticism of Mrs. Carse and the Temple had cropped out at the Denver convention (1892), where some of the women sharply upbraided her for renting Willard Hall to the Republicans for a political rally, the kindly mantle of Frances Willard then protected her. With the financial chaos resulting from the crash and with the sympathetic president abroad, Mrs. Carse was roughly treated by her adversaries. In desperation she wrote the following letter to Miss Willard in the spring of 1893:

I do not think you have any idea of the trial I am enduring. I have been under fire for weeks. The *Evening News* and the *Dispatch* have kept up the attacks. No doubt you feel that you and Lady Henry have been under fire also, but your trouble is suffering for opinions sake, but the charges against me are as to the honesty and integrity of my character. J. B. Hobbs and his clique are trying to prove that myself and my sons are dishonest. It does seem to me that I ought to have a word of endorsement from you. Friendly papers are asking why you have kept silent in this matter, and I have not had a word from you that could be used to show them that you consider me an honest woman. It does seem to me that you might give me an editorial in the *Union Signal*. Even our friends are wondering why you are silent while letters are coming from all quarters expressing deepest sympathy for me and indignation against the persons who are trying to ruin me. The latest thing Hobbs has done is to air in the public press the restaurant matter making as much capital as possible out of your loss of five

hundred dollars, and trying to prove that I was dishonest in the transaction. I understand that the next move he and his clique will make will be to ruin the W.T.P.A. [Publishing Association].

I shall be glad when you all return home in May. I look with longing desire to your homecoming.

A footnote was added by the financial secretary of the Temple, Sara Johnson:

I think you ought to know that Mrs. Carse is really in a much broken down condition. The attacks in the newspapers are very distressing and we are beginning to feel very anxious about Mrs. Carse's health. Her poor heart is weak, you know her brother died very suddenly of heart disease, and I am so afraid she will have a similar fate if she is not relieved in some way. Letters have come to Mrs. Carse warning her of the intention of her enemies to endeavor to prove to the public that the W.T.P.A. has been poorly managed and that she is the one person to blame for it all. We watch the papers anxiously expecting every day to have this new matter brought up. I sincerely trust another annual convention will change the state of things now existing, that Mrs. Carse may have support instead of hindrances from the national officers.

The financial situation in which she was involved was complicated but by no means hopeless—not if the women had pulled together. With all space rented, the estimated revenue was about $220,000. Out of this sum Mrs. Carse figured about $100,000 above maintenance charge for retiring bonds and stocks and eventually as revenue for the Union. The unfortunate part of the entire Temple project was that none of the women understood finance except Mrs. Carse. Frances Willard never could balance her own simple budget, and if it had not been for Anna Gordon she would have been perpetually in financial difficulty. Consequently, none of the women was able either to advise or to oppose Mrs. Carse until they suddenly realized that the Temple debt was enormous. They complacently thought of Mrs. Carse as a financial wizard who could produce buildings by stock manipulation. Giving little financial support to the Temple, they suddenly seemed amazed to find it had cost real money. Had they organized a committee to raise money from their chapters, the amount could have been subscribed in a comparatively short time. But there was a pitiable lack of co-operation on the part of the Union, which was even commented on by the press (*Chicago Times-Herald*, November 17, 1896).

Although Frances Willard did not personally direct all these

various enterprises, she was in the last analysis responsible for their success or failure, and it was to her all turned for help when difficulties arose. To carry on the executive work of such an empire needed the help of numerous assistants. She had the services of Anna Gordon continuously after 1877. During the eighties she kept a staff of half-a-dozen secretaries busy in the north wing of her home, "Rest Cottage" (the south wing being reserved for her mother). Some of these women later became executives of various clerical departments. Before Frances Willard left for Europe in 1892, the Temple was completed, and the entire staff was housed on a floor of this building.[6] While in England Miss Willard usually kept a staff of four to six stenographers busy all the time. Yet the responsibility of organization bore ever more heavily upon her.

Even in the eighties her mother objected to her involvement in politics, socialism, and all the various projects of the Union. No doubt she foresaw the pyramiding of the work. She upbraided Frances for being too ambitious and straying too far away from the simple faith of her religion. That Frances heeded her mother's warning and tried to put a stop to the ever widening circle of her activities is clearly shown by the following excerpt from her address of 1889:

> In compliance with a promise made to my mother to work less constantly and to become more of a Bible student I have been for some time detaching myself from financial responsibilities and outside care. (I have gained in the past year release from chairmanship of the National Temperance Publication House, and as before mentioned I have resigned my place as a counseling member of the National and Executive Committees of the National Prohibition Party.) In May my time expires as president of the World's W.C.T.U. and I am seeking release from the presidency of the National Council of Women.

Yet her whole philosophy of life was bound up in developing new projects, for here was growth. Furthermore, her love of success, prestige, and power was a continual incentive to experiment with new ideas. The good resolve was soon buried by the onrushing sweep of more and ever more activities. Up to 1886 Frances Willard did not receive a salary but depended entirely for her income on lecture fees. At this time, however, the national Union voted her a salary of $1,800 in addition to a stipulated allowance for clerical help and a salary for Miss Gordon. Several years later her salary

was increased to $2,400 a year; but, with the panic of 1893, which involved the Union in financial difficulty, she herself reduced it to $2,000. When the appropriation committee began to haggle over the pittance they paid her, she again cut her salary and accepted only $1,000 from the Union. Lady Henry magnificently made up the difference.[7]

While the hospital, the Publishing Association, and the Temple were all individually incorporated and hence had no legal claim on the treasury of the national Union, they were bound together by the even stronger moral ties of faith and integrity. The world Union likewise was a separate institution yet closely related to the national Union, which had sponsored its creation. Furthermore, as Frances Willard was the president of both organizations, the success or failure of each reacted upon the other. The weight of all these organizations should have kept her occupied and fairly content, but early in her career she had adopted Margaret Fuller's philosophy that the only object in life was to grow.

In 1895, therefore, Frances Willard announced that the Union would soon begin social settlement work in Chicago. She had made a study of the methods used in famous Toynbee Hall, London. Her interest had been aroused, related the *Woman's Journal* (November 23, 1895), chiefly as she caught the great possibility herein for child welfare. Always reaching out for something a little further on, a little higher up, she never knew what it was to reach the summit, for, like a mirage, it was just a little beyond. However, she did not live to make her dream of social settlement a reality. Her more discerning friends realized that the Do-Everything Policy was slowly killing her.[8]

As the weight of organization became increasingly great, especially during the nineties, and as her visits to England lengthened, dissension and discord crept into the Union. Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt was one of the first to raise her voice in criticism of the absent leader. Although she had been lifted to a position of trust and prestige by Frances Willard as the first round-the-world missionary and later as honorary president of the world Union, she became a veritable Judas. She began her campaign of betrayal by writing stinging letters of rebuke to Frances Willard. Hurt and disturbed over this unfriendly attitude, the president wrote to Margaret A. Sudduth, managing editor of the *Union Signal*. Mrs. Sudduth re-

plied (February 19, 1894) that she, too, had received letters from Mrs. Leavitt which were "so inexcusably full of spite and malice that I can have some appreciation of what you have received. One of two things must be true—she is either crazy or she is possessed of a demon."

Several weeks later Miss Willard, evidently perplexed and irritated over the matter, sent one of these vicious letters to Mrs. Clara Hoffman, then assistant secretary of the national Union. To this Mrs. Hoffman responded (March 9, 1894), "I cannot remember ever to have read a more utterly insulting and contemptible letter than Mrs. Leavitt's to you." And she considered this conduct as unfitting this woman to receive longer the indorsement of the Union. The onslaught of Mrs. Leavitt was particularly disturbing because she struck at her friend's Achilles heel. Frances Willard continued to draw her full salary from the Union while spending half her time in England, which Mrs. Leavitt considered "defrauding the organization." As she traveled across the country visiting the Unions here and there, Mrs. Leavitt reiterated her bitter criticism, arousing wherever she could dissatisfaction and discontent. By throwing the searchlight of publicity on the salary question, she no doubt did much to instigate the formal discussion of it by the appropriation committee. Mrs. Clara Hoffman appeared quite eager to write Frances Willard her noble part in the proceedings.

> I was sick when in the appropriation committee I was the only one to fight the cutting down of your salary. Just think of that committee! Rounds, chairman, Campbell and Hoffman members with Esther (Pugh) and goody-goody sissy Monroe, advisors. Then and there I determined to defeat Miss Pugh if it could be done—and it was done! Thank God! You and everybody else ought to be grateful it was done.

It must have been about this time that Frances Willard cut her salary to $1,000 to lessen the discord which had arisen. When one remembers that Frances Willard did not receive a salary until 1886, it seems astounding that anyone could have questioned her meager salary of $2,000 a year. Her name alone was worth more than that to the organization, even if she did no work whatever. Moreover, the plates on her books were turned over to the Publishing Association, which brought them hundreds of dollars,[9] and the women might have suspected she would leave the Union her property in Evanston. Of course, the fact that in years to come the Union would

make several million dollars from her name was scarcely dreamed of. The petty quibbling over her small salary indicates how little they appreciated her great contribution to them and to womanhood.

How much discord Mrs. Leavitt aroused cannot be measured, but she was credited with effectively fanning the flame of opposition. Some years later the *New York Tribune* (May 29, 1898) stated that it was well known that Mrs. Leavitt had done much to influence opinion, of those inclined to disaffection in the Union, against both Miss Willard and Lady Henry. As honorary president of the world Union she commanded considerable attention and used this position to attack both of them.

Jealousy flared forth from another quarter, an even more dangerous one. One of the national officers plotted to supplant Frances Willard as national president, thinking she could wield her powerful scepter. Mrs. Mary Woodbridge made it plainly known that she felt Frances Willard ought to resign unless she could end her protracted absence abroad and was able to resume active work in this country. Whisperings of this sort had spread to many of the local Unions, and it became common gossip that at the next annual convention (1894) an effort would be made to "unhorse Frances Willard." Believing that the president loved her office too much ever to resign, Mrs. Woodbridge and her clique felt that the only way to supplant her was to defeat her at elections by a coalition effort. Meantime, friction and jealousy had sprung up at headquarters between Mrs. Woodbridge, the national recording secretary, and Mrs. Helen Barker, the national treasurer, and between Mrs. Grow, the financial secretary of the *Union Signal*, and Mrs. Louise Rounds, a member of that board who was also the president of the Illinois Union. Mrs. Grow continued to keep speculative advertisements out of their paper, while Mrs. Rounds sponsored a number of such contracts.

Such was the dismal merry-go-round of petty politics while the distinguished president was in England. Her kinswoman, Irene Fockler, who was office secretary to Mrs. Woodbridge (the ambitious one), wrote, on September 13, 1894: "Oh, it has been so terrible all these months to work in this dissension—with your heart broken, with the care of 'what next' in the mind. The brain and spirit in bondage to these unchristian wrangles." She stated that, as far as Miss Pugh and Mrs. Buell were concerned, she spoke to

them, "just as if I don't know they are in a bad humor—but I don't speak to Mrs. Rounds and I don't expect to for I'll tell what I think of her sure!!!" Yet, a short year before, they had all been so grateful for the $5,000 loan their president had secured from Lady Henry. At that time Margaret Sudduth wrote (June 2, 1893) that a genuine peace had settled down over headquarters. "The national officers greet us smilingly whenever we meet them . . . . and Mrs. Grow wears a smile most of the time these days."

The dissident faction gained little headway in defeating Frances Willard at either the 1894 or the 1895 conventions. Mrs. Woodbridge, the vortex of the movement, died in 1895. Much too popular with the rank and file of the delegates, Frances Willard continued to win the majority support of the national conventions. In the convention of 1895 she frankly attempted to smother criticism in her address by pointing out the marked success of the Union. She told the women that the present convention at Baltimore was in contrast to the last time they had met there seventeen years ago. Then they had only 147 delegates, including officers and vice-presidents, while now the delegation numbered 528, then only thirteen states were represented, while at the present convention fifty states and territories, including the District of Columbia, were represented.

But in 1896 it looked for a brief time as if the propitious hour had arrived. The frail president had exhausted her slender reserve of energy in the Armenian Relief work at Marseille. The ocean voyage only aggravated her condition as she had had a rough passage. Thus she reached St. Louis for the convention so ill that she had to go to bed for several days. Other early arrivals, discovering her weak condition, spread the word that she was too ill to carry on the work of the presidency. The *Chicago Times-Herald* (November 12, 1896) reported that some of the leaders present felt that before long the noble woman who had won the title of the "Angel of Temperance would soon be forced by her advancing years to lay down the burden of the crusade." Fifty-seven even in that day could hardly be called "advancing years" except by those women waiting like the vultures of the desert for their prey to fall. Several days later the same paper stated that the widespread rumors of Miss Willard's illness were dispelled when the distinguished lady took her place on the platform the second day of the session. One can only surmise

the supreme effort Frances Willard must have made to pull herself together to preside over that convention. She no doubt realized the feeling of some members of her official board. But, as soon as she appeared on the platform, said the *New York Tribune* (November 14, 1896), that great audience rose as one body and waved the Chautauqua salute. Her raidant personality perpetually renewed the loving loyalty and faith of these women for their leader. The convention was the largest in their history and the most unique. The department-parade was introduced: women in each of the forty departments, carrying colorful satin banners emblematic of their respective work, marched up the center aisle and then circled around the hall. This pageant of the growth and strength of their organization aroused great enthusiasm, making the 1896 convention one of the most memorable in their history.

Again the forces of opposition were dismayed. There was no doubt about the enthusiasm of the delegates for their beloved commander, regardless of the disaffection of some of the leaders. When the votes were counted, she was re-elected national president by a vote of 356 out of 361. Yet rampant jealousies acted like myriads of termites boring within the Union to weaken the entire structure. The petty animosities of the women at headquarters were a disturbing factor in the administration of the Union and its affiliated organizations.

With malicious envy undermining the loyalty of the leaders to Frances Willard, murmurings of dissent arose over her policies. The first to be attacked was that of the Do-Everything Policy. This had been the life-blood of the organization, arousing women by the thousands to a consciousness of social and political duties. But by the nineties some of the women were weary of so much activity, especially as newspapers began pointing out that as a temperance society the W.C.T.U. was wholly ineffective. *Public Opinion* (November 29, 1894), for example, said that, although the Union had been organized over twenty years, it was as far as ever from securing prohibition for which it was then originally organized. Many now thought they should concentrate on the one issue.

"Politics" had long been a prickly thorn to some of them. As Miss Willard asked indorsement of the Prohibition party year after year, some women became rebellious. Reporting the convention of 1895, the *Baltimore Sun* (October 23, 1895) said:

Some dissension arose over the resolution for endorsing the Prohibition Party. Mrs. Ella A. Boole of New York offered endorsement of any party that offered a prohibition and equal suffrage plank.

Mrs. Narcissa White-Kinney of Oregon said that there was a time when the Union cut its throat by an unqualified indorsement of the Prohibition Party. Some of the delegates thought the matter should be left with the State Unions to make endorsement according to circumstances.

Likewise in 1896 an acrimonious debate broke out over the annual resolution on politics, as revealed by the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (November 17, 1896)—perhaps a little more fierce than usual because of the split in the Prohibition party over silver as in the Democratic ranks.

The advanced views on socialism which Miss Willard brought home with her from England were most unacceptable to many of the women. In the convention of 1895 she struck heavy blows for this gospel. She told the women that she was a collectivist because she believed in the principles of justice which taught every human being that every other has as much right as himself to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the pursuit of knowledge, and the pursuit of holiness. The white-ribbon women, quoted the *Baltimore Sun* (October 19, 1895), must be the sworn foes of monopoly, of landlordism, and every other form of class legislation. The *Woman's Journal* (December 7, 1895), of which she was an associate editor, remarked that her address had called out "many and varied comments." The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* called it a "patch-work of curious ideas." The women grumbled among themselves.

The concept which caused the greatest dissension, however, was her new views on temperance. The old fundamental American view had been that poverty was caused by intemperance and that the most effective way to abolish the curse of rum was through constitutional amendment or by legislative act. Modifying these precepts somewhat, she brought down upon herself the holy wrath of her own order and allied societies. In her address before the Baltimore convention (1895) she said: "Much criticism has been expended upon me for declaring in my Third Biennial Address before the World's W.C.T.U. last June [in London] that as temperance people we had been in error in not receognizing the relation of poverty to intemperance, and because I stated that while from the first I had maintained that intemperance caused poverty I was now ready

not only to reiterate that cardinal doctrine but to add that poverty caused intemperance. By that declaration I am ready to stand or fall.''

As criticism mounted over this linking-together of prohibition and socialism, she attempted further to explain her stand in the *Union Signal* (November 7, 1895). She said she did not believe that poverty caused intemperance in the same degree as intemperance caused poverty, but that it was high time to recognize this relationship. She quoted the historian, James A. Froude, who had said that the best ally of rich men in piling up their gains was the increasing tendency of drunkenness in the working classes, because, so long as men get drunk, they will not be politically dangerous. The people who resented her socialism, doubly resented this interpretation of the prohibition question. In effect, she lifted intemperance out of the sphere of a moral issue and made it largely an economic problem. If she had gone a step further and made it a pathological problem as well, she would have been getting very near the heart of the matter.

Her reversal of emphasis from legislative action to educational training shocked the Union and the public. The very hub of their policy had been securing petitions to present to state and national legislative bodies asking for constitutional amendment. This was also the principle back of the local-option laws. Failing to secure legislative action for the state, the Union sought local action for county or town. The people then could vote dry or wet in such areas, but each such section which went dry helped build the pyramid for state prohibition, and each dry state helped toward the final goal of national prohibition. Now in 1894, on her first return trip to America in nearly two years, Frances Willard recanted this cardinal doctrine. An editorial in the *Detroit Evening News* (September 6, 1894) said that the cause of prohibition had met with a violent setback by the ''defection and back-sliding'' of Miss Frances Willard, as she had renounced her faith in governmental prohibition. The article explained that she had finally come to the conclusion that no law can be executed where the sentiment of the community did not strongly sustain it. One of her Good Templar friends in Canada sent her, with considerable agitation, a clipping from the *Hamilton Daily Spectator*, which stated that, after much study of the question in England, Miss Willard had rejected any attempt of the

government to enforce prohibition. In the future Miss Willard would devote her effort to persuading people by exhortation and reason to stop drinking rather than to compel them to do so against their will, the paper continued. Her change of policy, it was said, was away from force to that of love. Such a complete reversal caused angry excitement among the women of the Union, and "some of the more aggressive ladies in the organization do not hesitate to denounce their leader as an apostate and have hastened to repudiate her new opinions."[10]

This new belief of Frances Willard's was no doubt greatly influenced by similar views held by Lady Henry Somerset. Lady Henry had never been a prohibitionist, strictly speaking, but believed in temperate or moderate drinking. She had definitely stated her views as opposed to prohibition by act of Parliament in the hearings before the Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws.[11] This may have been the reason Lady Henry opposed taking the Polyglot Petition around the world to all governments—she did not believe in prohibition by legislation or, for that matter, in complete prohibition at all. Hence this petition, which called on each government to stop the iniquitous sale of liquor, was contrary to her fundamental views on temperance. It will be remembered that in 1895 Frances Willard had announced that she and Lady Henry had come to a complete understanding on all questions of policy and method. Apparently they had reached an agreement on this issue too. The failure of the Nineteenth Amendment in recent years sustains the validity of her revised ideas.

Several years later the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (November 13, 1898) commended the Union for its powerful influence in the nation and editorially approved the same view:

> As to its main purpose, the doing away with the drinking habit, the *Pioneer Press* has always believed and still believes that vastly more is to be accomplished by the women of the country in behalf of temperance reforms by a diligent use of personal and educational influences than by constant appeals for prohibition laws. It is a question of public opinion which sets the prevailing standards of manners or social habits.

Yet this change of policy was not well received by the Union, nor was it ever adopted. Only in recent years has the organization duly emphasized the educational feature which Frances Willard had in-

stituted in 1880. The most significant and most successful work of the Union in temperance was this educational program. After Frances Willard died, this feature of the work was allowed to dwindle until about 1933, when Miss Bertha Rachel Palmer revived it.

So bitter were a few of the women over Miss Willard's defection that they even accused her of drinking wine. When she and Lady Henry visited Chautauqua in late August, 1894, some malicious gossip saw them sipping a yellow liquid which they poured from a bottle as they sat talking in the dining-room of their hotel and promptly reported it to the press. The story accordingly was published in many newspapers throughout the country. The *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, which had a reporter on the ground, said:

> On investigation it was found that the beverage was a brand of unfermented wine which had been largely consumed here this season. The stuff is pronounced harmless and quite beneficial but many of the temperance ladies do not see it in that light.
>
> "It may be unfermented, but, just the same it makes the face red," said a leader in temperance circles here while discussing the matter.
>
> No matter what the effect of the drink may be, the majority of the people were, temperance or otherwise, inclined to censure Miss Willard for her act; for as President of the great W.C.T.U., they held she should, of all people, avoid the mere appearance of evil. Whatever people may think, Miss Willard did drink the golden liquid, pouring it out of a regulation wine bottle, and what's more, she enjoyed it, too.[12]

Of course it would have been impossible to buy even the lightest wine at Chautauqua, nor would a hotel there have dared serve it. The story was ridiculous.

Further discord was created over the Negro situation. An epidemic of colored lynchings in 1894–95 aroused the Negroes. At the national convention of 1894 Miss Willard tried to make her position quite clear by stating in her address that both the World's W.C.T.U and the national Union made no distinctions of color. The South under the freedom of state's rights maintained separate organizations for whites and blacks while the North and West had mixed ones; but in either case the colored people were represented in the national Union. "It is inconceivable," she stated, according to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (November 17, 1894), "that the W.C.T.U. will ever condone lynching, no matter what the provocation." Al-

though this would seem to make her position clear, the Negroes felt that she had not been definite enough in her stand and made some rather trenchant criticism of her. So bitter, in fact, was some of this criticism that a group of her friends issued a statement to the press which read:

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
February 6, 1895

It has come to our knowledge that wrong impressions concerning the attitude of Miss Willard toward the colored people in America have been made in certain quarters, and as an act of justice we desire to put on record that no such criticisms would be for a moment received in her own country by those who have any adequate knowledge of Miss Willard's character and career.

As President of the National W.C.T.U. and founder of the World's W.C.T.U., Miss Willard has always maintained the position that no color line could be drawn by either society, and the women who have thus far guided and controlled these great organizations have never sought to establish any distinction in either, but have freely and gladly accepted the colored women as officers, and delegates to the conventions of both. Within a few weeks Miss Willard publicly declared that if a certain Woman's Club of Chicago of which she is a member, declined to receive colored women on terms of equality, she should resign her membership.

The National W.C.T.U. is organized on the basis that each state has the right to manage its own internal affairs. In some of the Southern States colored unions have been formed with the hearty concurrence of leading colored women. When these unions send their delegates to the World's or National W.C.T.U., they are received on terms of perfect equality with white women.

It is due to the White Ribbon movement that this statement be widely made and thoroughly understood, as the work of that society is one of wide range and womanly beneficence. In view of these facts we feel that for any person or persons to give currency to statements harmful to Miss Willard as a reformer is most misleading and unjust. Through her influence many of the State Unions have adopted resolutions against lynching, and the National Union has put itself on record in the same way, while the Annual Addresses of the President have plainly indicated her disapproval of such lawless and barbarous proceedings.

[*Signed*] FREDERICK DOUGLAS
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON
THOMAS W. HIGGINSON
ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS-WARD
FRANCIS J. GARRISON
JULIA WARD HOWE
EDNA CHENEY
JOSEPH COOK
LYMAN ABBOTT
HERBERT D. WARD[13]

Despite this splendid statement, criticism persisted. At the National Conference of Colored Women, some months later, she was again condemned for her indefinite stand on the issue of colored lynchings, many of the delegates claiming that she had "hedged" on the question. The matter in itself was not serious, but it is significant of the opposing sentiment which seemed to spread during the late nineties. In fact, the convention of 1895 marked the beginning of a breach in sympathy between Frances Willard and a large segment of public opinion.

Another difference arose over the Temperance Hospital, as voiced by Margaret Sudduth, managing editor of the *Union Signal*. The Union had early taken its stand against the use of alcohol in medicine, and this, of course, was the basis of the Temperance Hospital. She wrote (February 19, 1894) Frances Willard that she had signed the pledge with certain mental reservations, especially as to the use of alcohol in medicine. "I am positive," she said, "we do not take a scientific or practical standpoint when we deny the necessity of alcohol as a remedial agent." She said that she had talked to a number of other women in the Union, including two national officers, who thoroughly agreed with her. Pointing out that up to 1888 their pledge had read abstinence from all alcohol "as a beverage," she had recently taken the liberty of reinserting this phrase, as she felt she could not continue the editorship of any paper which took a stand on an important question that is "unsupportable." She also stated that the medical profession was rapidly coming to look upon alcoholism as a disease. There is no indication, however, that Miss Willard revised her views on this question. Regardless of what Margaret Sudduth or other members believed, they did not have the courage to speak until dissension was loosed. Once criticism began, it spread; once jealousy arose, it grew.

At the fourth biennial convention of the world Union at Toronto in October, 1897, came the saddest expressions of discord. It involved her good friend, Lady Henry. Early in the year of 1897 Lady Henry had written an open letter to Lord George Hamilton, the secretary of state for India, on the Contagious Diseases Act. She had steadily evaded the unpleasant subject of social purity, but now that she had been asked for a statement on the pending bill for India she faced the issue. The sum and substance of her letter was acceptance of regulation of Army vice rather than attempting ex-

tirpation of the notorious condition of the British Army in India. At once the social-purity women of the American Union were defiant and belligerent. Frances Willard remained silent. The women had long been jealous of Lady Henry, of her wealth, social position, and, most of all, her close comradeship with their leader. Their pent-up jealousy of a decade was now turned against her. In midsummer one of the women, probably Mrs. Leavitt, wrote Miss Willard a bitter letter of recrimination. Referring to Lady Henry, the writer said it was time that this miserable woman's public career should end but that Miss Willard need not think herself guiltless because of her silence! The American women, she taunted, would demand to know why she kept silent when the woman next in rank to herself in the world Union was betraying their organization and the cause of womanhood. Concluding, she said, "Oh, that you had never met that woman of fatal fascination, to whom you swore that nothing would separate you from her, in either this world or the world to come, and nothing has separated you as far as it appears—not even infamy as yet."[14]

As the writer of this letter had prophesied, the American women demanded an "accounting." Consequently, the storm broke in the Toronto convention. The women forced through a resolution opposing regulations on license, thus causing Frances Willard to declare opposition to her dearest friend. The American women believed in no half-measures, so that instead of "controlled" vice they demanded abolition of vice. There is no doubt but that the entire situation grieved Frances Willard greatly. A few months later when Miss Willard was dying, Lady Henry wrote another letter to Lord Hamilton in which she said that her view had been that regulation would be instituted as a possible effective auxiliary to moral efforts. But now she felt that regulation would always be accepted as a convenient substitute. "I take the liberty of addressing this explicit withdrawal of an endorsement in whatever form of the principle of regulation, because it was in a letter to your lordship that I originally incurred the responsibility." Before Frances Willard died, therefore, she had the comfort of knowing that Lady Henry had retracted.

As the nineties progressed, discord had developed on all sides. Old friends, jealous over their beloved one's friendship with the Englishwoman, became more and more critical of her views and

policies. With this atmosphere of criticism and with the recent defection at the world Union over the purity question, the national convention of the Union opened at Buffalo in November, 1897. The delegates were tense with excitement. Everyone felt something was going to happen. The Temple project had long been the cause of considerable antagonisms, but now it was to become the chief point of dissension. Frances Willard had appointed her vice-president-at-large, Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens of Maine, as chairman of a committee of inquiry. The report of this committee was presented at the Buffalo convention.

In this critical report the committee recommended that all national officers resign from the Temple board, so that the national Union would not appear to be responsible for its transaction. Accordingly, Frances Willard and six other women resigned from the Temple board. This was the most severe blow Mrs. Carse had received, for, of course, no one else then wanted to be on the board.[15] Mrs. Rounds, the president of the Illinois Union, appeared to be one of the leaders of the opposing faction, although in the Illinois convention the women had loyally upheld Mrs. Carse. To offset this staggering defeat for Mrs. Carse, Frances Willard in her loyalty declared to the press that she intended to raise the needed money herself. The *Chicago Times-Herald* (October 30, 1897) said:

> The faction that has fought the Temple from the day the beautiful building was opened and has aided hard times in fostering the belief that the enterprise cannot be successful is in the last ditch. Time and again the faction has been beaten back, only to renew the attack.
>
> Throughout the war which has been waged against the building, Frances Willard has stood by Mrs. Carse, the founder, and her influence is a great stumbling block to the opposing forces.

It was unfortunate that Frances Willard yielded to the pressure of her colleagues to resign from the board, as this action at once raised doubts in the minds of many people as to the ultimate success of the project. The Union committed itself to the Temple project in 1887 and was bound to its success both morally and financially. But this cruel action of the president was somewhat mitigated by her unequivocal announcement to stand by the Temple and to devote the forthcoming year to raising necessary funds.

The vast majority of the members were devoted to the Temple

project, which meant that if the executives would stand together they could secure the support of ten thousand local Unions with some two hundred thousand members. The dissension which brought defeat and ruin to the project was limited almost entirely to the so-called leaders. Had this small group of women been as loyal as the rank and file, the Temple would have been a shining success. Although it was quite true that Mrs. Carse had built too big, the time for opposition was in the beginning, not afterward. Certainly, their financial situation would have been far from hopeless if they had all pulled together. As the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (November 10, 1888) pointed out, the outstanding debt was $600,000 in building bonds, $300,000 in trust bonds secured by stock, and $218,000 of stock. The net income of the building when fully rented was over $100,000 a year. The immediate need, therefore, was to raise the $300,000 to retire the trust bonds. Then, by passing the stock dividends for a few years, they could have retired the building bonds. With skilful management the women could have owned their Temple, once they had raised the $300,000 for the trust bonds.

Frances Willard was able to announce to the Convention (1897) that $100,000 of the $300,000 had already been pledged. Marshall Field of Chicago had promised to give them $50,000 if the women raised $250,000 and an additional $50,000 had been pledged, so that one-third of the needed amount had already been susbcribed. They had until May 1, 1900, to raise the full amount of the trust bonds, or another year and a half. Had Frances Willard lived, there is little doubt that she would have raised this money and that the Temple would have been saved for the Union.

Despite the vigorous urgings of some of her executive board, Frances Willard refused to abandon the Temple. She did agree, however, that hereafter all money for the Temple should be placed in a trust fund and paid out only upon order of the national officers. At the conclusion of the stormy session the *Chicago Times-Herald* (November 14, 1897) wrote:

> Temperance women from all parts of the nation left the W.C.T.U. National Convention cheered by the thought that the Woman's Temple is still theirs. The opposition from the start had been in the minority and the Temple victory is a more definite one than any had at previous conventions.
>
> The hold which the Temple idea has taken upon the women is some-

thing extraordinary. They sobbed when any reference was made to giving the building up and prayed whenever the minority seemed to have the best of the situation.

Lady Henry was rich, titled, and affluent. For Frances Willard to forsake her humbler friends and comrades for this lovely lady of the English aristocracy hurt them deeply. They wanted to keep her among themselves and for themselves, and hence they deeply resented the claim of an outsider. Out of this fruitful soil sprang a criticism of her policies. From this it was but a short step to bickering with one another over precedent, jurisdiction, leadership, and power. Yet all the women resented any aspersions upon their president by the press. They accordingly passed the following resolution to show the public just where they stood:

> We make our solemn and sorrowful protest that any part of the press should publish any imputation upon the upright and Christian character of our national leader, who has labored so long and faithfully for the advancement of every cause which is for the betterment of humanity.
>
> In answer to all these charges, insinuations and imputations, against our leader, Miss Frances E. Willard, we hereby declare them without foundation, and express to our National President our love and loyalty, our confidence and devotion.

The mass of the women always remained devoted to Frances Willard. It was only some of the leaders who failed her. But they were too divided among themselves to make an effective opposition. Miss Willard was again re-elected national president in this unruly convention of 1897 by a vote of 387 out of 406.

This was the most acrimonious convention Frances Willard had ever presided over. Although the disturbance was caused by a comparatively small group, they were in prominent positions and could make their dissent heard. Had Frances Willard remained in America, there is little doubt that dissension and discord could ever have found growth. She had such great charm and witchery in handling people that disaffection could not long exist. Ill health, the disappointment over politics, and the delightful intellectual life at Lady Henry's house explain her long visits in England.

CHAPTER XXII

The End of the Century

FRANCES WILLARD did not live to see the dawn of the twentieth century. Her span of years (1839–98), however, covered the momentous transition of womankind which had a profound effect upon American social and political ideals and which gave a new direction to the American way of life.

In the period that began with the Crusade of 1874 and ended with the election of Carrie Chapman Catt as president of the National American Suffrage Association in 1900, the woman's movement developed and expanded with astonishing rapidity. In the vanguard of this movement, for almost two decades, stood Frances Willard and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The woman's movement, however, was now far greater than one organization or a single personality. Other factors, such as the growth of woman's clubs, the popularity of welfare work, the increasing number of university women, the professionally trained women, the recognized need of women in business, and other similar advancements, were all apparent by the beginning of the twentieth century. The pioneering work was ended. The womanhood of the nation had become self-conscious and articulate. It may be said, therefore, that the passing of Frances Willard closed an age.

The last year of her life was strangely pathetic. After the strenuous national convention of 1896 in St. Louis, she returned to the quiet of Dr. Cordelia A. Greene's sanitarium at Castile, New York. The illness which had been sapping her strength for several years now was making noticeable gains. Although she remained here for some months, resting hours each day in the open air, her old strength failed to return. Thinking the salt air of Atlantic City might be invigorating for her, Anna Gordon took her there for three weeks in the spring of 1897. Here she seemed to rally somewhat and early in May even spoke at the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City.

That summer she began a slow pilgrimage to old family haunts. In August she visited the birthplace of each of her parents, Danville and Wheelock Hollow, Vermont. She even visited the old ancestral estate of Henry Willard, son of Simon, from whom she traced her descent. This was on the Still River and once was one of the show places of the Colonial frontier. Before returning West, she attended the world convention at Toronto, which was followed by the national convention at Buffalo. Both these conventions were especially tiring because of the dissension.

Despite her weariness and fatigue, she continued the grim task of visiting bygone scenes. She went to Churchville to see Aunt Sarah, her last remaining relative there. Going West, she stopped at Oberlin, Ohio, and again saw the house where she had once lived as a child. She reached Evanston in time for Thanksgiving Day. On December 10 she addressed the students of Northwestern University, and on Christmas Day the townsfolk gave her a great welcome at the Emanuel Church. Little did any of them think that this was her farewell visit. There still remained Janesville, Wisconsin, where she had spent her girlhood, for a last goodbye. The first of January she spoke in the Congregational Church there and then visited the farm, Forest Home, where she had romped away her childhood.

She had planned to go to England again early the coming spring but gave it up when the Temple problem waxed so dangerously difficult at the Buffalo convention.[1] Whether the pleading letters from Lady Henry or the scurrilous attacks upon her friend made Frances Willard reconsider the projected trip is not known. But early in the new year her plans again were to visit England in February. With this end in view she and Miss Gordon went to New York City for a few weeks before sailing. Friends there had tried to arrange rooms at the Royal Empire Hotel close to Central Park, but the rates were too high. When the manager, W. Johnson Quinn, learned that Frances Willard was prevented from stopping at his hotel for several weeks because of finances, he wrote her a charming letter inviting her to come as the special guest of the hotel, saying, "To have as a guest at the Hotel Empire the author of so much good will more than recompense us; there will be no charge for your apartment."

A suite of rooms, accordingly, was placed at her disposal. Although each day she walked or drove through beautiful Central

Park in the crisp January air, she began to languish. Sailing was postponed. Her illness was diagnosed merely as a cold. But from this illness she did not rally. Gradually she became weaker and weaker, yet maintained consciousness until the very last. February 17 was the last day of her life. To the end, Anna Gordon was with her constantly. Mrs. Clara Hoffman, Mrs. Lillian Stevens, and her niece, Katharine Willard Baldwin, visited her almost to the last hour.

Dr. Alfred K. Hills, editor of the *Medical Times*, had attended her for some time and gave out the following statement to the press (*New York Tribune*, February 19, 1898):

> Miss Willard had suffered some years with profound anemia and on several occasions had been given up to die. Last summer she seemed to take on a new lease of life and gained considerable in weight and in strength so that she went through her convention work at Toronto and Buffalo which was most arduous—and came out much better than was expected. On her arrival here five weeks ago she was much prostrated and readily took on la grippe, which attacked the stomach, liver, intestines and later the nervous system.

When Dr. Hills told her a few hours before her death that she would probably never see another dawn, she replied that it was well as she was "very weary." During the two weeks of her illness she had repeatedly declared that it would be better if she should go and that she welcomed death.

The funeral service in New York City was held at the Broadway Tabernacle, Broadway and Thirty-fourth Street, where she had given an address some eight months before. Two thousand people jammed the auditorium. A small cluster of white roses was sent by Lady Henry with directions to place it in the casket over her heart. Bishop John P. Newman and Dr. E. S. Tripple presided at the service.

Chauncey M. Depew, president of the New York Central Railroad, and Seward Webb, president of the Wagner Palace Car Company, at once notified Miss Gordon of their desire to provide a special car to carry the body of Frances Willard to Chicago, accompanied by the officers of the Union.[2] The cortege left New York City, February 21, and stopped a day at Churchville, her birthplace, before heading directly for Chicago, where the funeral train arrived at the Illinois Central Station at eight-thirty o'clock on the

morning of February 23. It was met by Robert Willard, the wandering nephew, and a number of friends. When the procession of mourners arrived at the Temple, there was no need for a police cordon, for the crowd in reverence fell back and every man in that great throng bared his head as the casket was carried into Willard Hall. Here the body lay in state for six hours.

It was the homecoming of the First Lady of the woman's movement. All day long a steady stream of people marched past her bier in final expression of their respect and devotion. They had waited in line for hours to pay this last simple tribute of their love. The newspapers related that the lines extended from the entrance on Monroe Street around the corner down La Salle Street as far as Adams Street, or a little over a block. In places it was twenty persons deep. Despite the cold, wintry day the crowd stood patiently while policemen hustled them, pedestrians pushed, and passing teamsters threatened their safety. The *Chicago-Inter Ocean* (February 24, 1898) estimated that twenty thousand persons remained in line until they reached her coffin for a last farewell. But at four o'clock that afternoon the order was given that no more people could be admitted, as the time had arrived for the final rites. The hundreds who yet remained in line, having waited for hours in the icy slush and the cold, reluctantly and sadly turned away.

When the funeral party arrived in Evanston about five-thirty o'clock that afternoon, there were thousands at the station to pay homage to their illustrious citizen. Services were held the following morning at eleven o'clock at the First Methodist Church, where hundreds were turned away. So great, indeed, was the crush at the funeral, related the *Evanston News Index* (February 26, 1898), that the weight in the gallery caused the floor to settle and cracks an inch wide appeared in the wall opposite the main entrance. The officers on duty did not give the alarm, so no one knew of the precarious situation until afterward.

The entire city went into mourning, schools and business houses closed during the services, and all flags were at half-mast throughout Evanston. The university had dipped her flag at the first word of Frances Willard's death and kept it so until after the service in Evanston. The streetcar men of Chicago during the hour of service removed their hats as a silent tribute of the workers to one who believed in labor. Henry Wade Rogers, president of Northwestern

University, spoke for her old friends and colleagues at the university:

We of the University honored and loved Frances Willard. Once she was Dean of what was known as the Woman's College and was a member of our faculty, and in these later years of our Board of Trustees. The last speech she made in this town, which she delighted to call "The Methodist Cambridge of the Prairies," was an address to the students delivered in the College Chapel only a few weeks ago.

As Professor and Dean she had her trials. She taught the classes in English. It was a new experience for college men to recite to a woman. They tried her mettle to find that she understood herself and them. They admired and respected her.

A recent dean of the Graduate School of Northwestern University said, "I attended the funeral of Frances Willard. It was a great tribute to a great woman."

After the funeral services in Evanston, she was buried with her family at Rose Hill Cemetery, Chicago. Although Frances Willard had expressed a preference for cremation, Miss Gordon had ruled against it. She had often cringed at the new ideas and methods which her beloved captain adopted. But in this matter her conscience hurt her. So the body was removed from the vault, and on Easter morning, April 9, it was cremated. Her ashes were then deposited in her mother's casket.

One of the sweet stories of which there were probably many like it never to be known explained a bunch of violets noticed at the Evanston service. It was sent by a newspaperwoman of Washington, D.C., who had met Miss Willard only once. A reporter then in a western city, discouraged, blue, and homesick, she was sent to get an interview from the distinguished lady during her brief stay in the town. Frightened and ill at ease, the quivering young girl began the ordeal of asking questions when Miss Willard rose and crossed the room to her side. Putting an arm around her, she said, "Why, dearie, how tired you look! Take my chair, child." The reporter said that nobody had called her "child," and "dearie" for so long that she put her head on Miss Willard's shoulder and cried out her heartache. For the memory of these few kind words, the reporter concluded, "I say God bless Frances Willard."[3] From the demonstration at her funeral services there must have been countless thousands also saying, "God bless Frances Willard."

Throughout the nation the press spoke in eloquent terms of the great leader of American women. Said the *Outlook* (February, 1898), the principal household magazine of opinion:

> It is doubtful whether the death of any woman, save possibly Victoria, Queen of England, could have produced so widespread and so profound a sorrow, as will be produced by the death of Frances Willard. The *Outlook* has differed radically with her two important points. We do not believe in prohibition by the state and she has been its most eloquent advocate; we do not believe in woman suffrage, and she has done more to overcome woman's instinctive aversion to the ballot than any other representative of that course.
>
> She was the first to see, certainly the first to make others see, the inherent and unappeasable hostility of the home of America in a life and death struggle with the saloon. Miss Willard had done more than unite the homes against the saloon. She has made total abstinence respectable. A new and important victory for liberty was won when the liberty of the guest was secured to turn down the wine glass at the dinner table. In our judgment, this social revolution has accomplished more for the cause of temperance than all the prohibitory laws which were ever enacted, and no one has done more to accomplish this social revolution than Miss Willard.
>
> But even this does not seem to us to have been her chief service. She saw clearly, what other women also have seen, that many of her sisters were letting their activities rust from disuse and others were frittering them away by misuse and frivolities. More perhaps than any other one person has she opened to her sisters the vision of that large activity and Christian and philanthropic work upon which woman has been entering during the last quarter century.

The *Chicago Record-Herald* (February 20, 1898) said that with her death one of the greatest women of the age passed from the world's environs. "No woman in America was better known, none was more universally loved." In labor reform she was a potent factor, it continued, and "as the champion of the cause of women she was foremost throughout the world." She had a rare combination of talents for writing, speaking, and organizing. The *Chicago Times-Herald* (February 19, 1898) called her a great leader who would live in millions of human hearts.

In her will, dated November 15, 1895, Miss Willard bequeathed the little property she possessed to Anna Gordon, except Rest Cottage (the Evanston home), which was left jointly to her and Mary

Bannister Willard. After their lifetime the property was to revert to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Although her original plan was that the proceeds of this property should be used by the Union for alcohol education of boys and girls, she made a codicil after the Buffalo convention of 1897 leaving the small estate to the Temple after the life-interest of Anna Gordon and Mary Willard expired. Her property was estimated as about $20,000. In addition to the Evanston house, there were the three summer hideaway cottages: the one at Twilight Park in the Catskill Mountains, the second at the Pacific Coast Chautauqua, near Astoria, Oregon, and Willard Acre at Bar Harbor, Maine.[4]

The death of Frances Willard had severe repercussions upon the Union. At once the issue of the Temple was revived. A check for $5,000 for the Temple fund came a day or so before she died, but the vast part of the amount remained to be raised. Even before the funeral the old feud broke out again, with opposition assuming an alarming position. There were many who wanted more than ever to push on with the project and to rename it the Willard Temple as a monument to her. Those subscribing to this view held that masses of men and women would donate under such conditions who would not do so otherwise. Many, it was argued, were indifferent to the Temple because it was a commercial project, but, once it became a memorial to the beloved Frances Willard, supporters all over the world would send contributions. The women had a good six months to haggle over the problem among themselves before the national convention which would finally settle the issue.

Another problem was the future policy of the organization. The Union had branched out so widely that many people feared the temperance issue would be lost sight of completely. There had been increasing grumbling over their wide diversification of work in recent years and a growing feeling among many to emphasize more their temperance department. With Miss Willard's death this question became of vital importance. There was no one in the organization who had the ability to control all the activities that Frances Willard had begun. She had great talents for organization, and skill in molding the sentiment of that great body of women. The second great question to be decided in their forthcoming national convention, therefore, was their future policy. This, like the Temple matter, was argued and discussed from the time of her death in

February until the convention in the autumn. This issue resolved itself into two points: Could anyone else carry on the multifold work of the Union as Frances Willard had developed it? Was it wise to continue such a policy anyway?

The national convention of 1898 met in St. Paul, Minnesota, the second week in November. An empty chair on the platform silently reminded the audience of the departed leader. At a special memorial service eulogies were given by Miss Gordon and Mrs. Stevens. But her friends who knelt at her shrine when she was alive were the first to repudiate her policies now that she was gone. Some of the leading women of the organization had met in secret session in Chicago the preceding July to agree on the Temple matter. Their private decision was to drop it. Something of this had leaked out so that the delegates came to the convention realizing that the big issue would be the Temple. In accordance with the summer rump session the executive committee at once voted the abandonment of the Temple. Although this commitment was private, it soon was common conversation among the delegates. Then came word from John Wanamaker, Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis of Chicago, Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, and a host of other prominent people, pleading for the maintenance of the Temple as a Willard memorial. Mrs. Carse implemented this by stating that she had received similar pleas from England, India, and all parts of the civilized world. The executive committee, surprised and swept off their feet, appeared to hesitate and waver. If the supporters of the Temple had been as well organized as the opposition to take advantage of this momentary lull, they could have rallied the full support of the delegates. But the propitious moment was lost. The opposition and jealousy of the national officers to the project were well set forth by a local newspaper, the *St. Paul Globe* (November 12, 1898):

> Opposition to the maintenance of the Temple by the W.C.T.U. arose among the national officers of the order. Part of their opposition (and the largest part of it) arose from the activity of personal enemies of that lady in Chicago. She is a business woman and business women are not always popular with sentimental women. Other opposition came from eastern W.C.T.U.'s who have always been jealous of Chicago's possession of the national headquarters. The opposition has never come from the rank and file of the Union but always from the W.C.T.U. officers, many of whom were never in harmony with Miss Willard, and nearly all of whom both

fear and dislike Mrs. Carse. If the lay delegates are allowed to vote on the proposition without application of parliamentary gag law to them, Mrs. Carse will win her fight. If the national officers have their way, she will be defeated.

The opponents of the Temple played two trump tricks: one was a letter from Lady Henry and the other a speech by Anna Gordon. Miss Gordon had secured quite a strong letter from the Englishwoman advising against continuation of the Temple. When this was read to the convention, Mrs. Carse jumped to her feet saying she had a letter from Lady Henry the preceding June in a very different spirit. But unfortunately she did not have that letter with her to read to the convention. After seven hours of bitter wrangling, the Temple issue was practically decided by the speech of Anna Gordon. Her pathetic talk, amid tears and sobs, was a turning-point in the fight against the Temple. Said the *Chicago Times-Herald* (November 16, 1898): "Her appearance was the trump card of the national officers, held until the very last moment. The tide of sentiment which had been so strong all day among the rank and file delegates turned in the twinkling of an eye." It was generally conceded that if the vote could have been taken before Miss Gordon spoke, the Temple again would have been indorsed. But when this woman, who had been Frances Willard's secretary for twenty-one years, told what a burden the project had been and how the lamented leader had struggled to bear this weighty load, feeling as she did that it was too great a task, support collapsed. The vote was taken almost at once after Miss Gordon concluded her traitorous speech. It stood 285 to 71 to drop the Temple. The *St. Paul Globe* (November 12, 1898) commented:

> The action of the convention was taken after a long session and a protracted debate during which many bitter words were exchanged between the leading advocates on both sides of the Temple question. The lie direct was not passed, but several times during the afternoon delegates called each other to account for misstatements and it was even charged by some that matters of record had been distorted to apply to the case in point. The Temple-ites declared the W.C.T.U. had repudiated a debt which it was in honor bound to pay, while the opposition denied it.

Mrs. Carse attempted to show the women that the Union was pledged to the Temple and could not repudiate a financial obligation. To which Miss Gordon replied that the W.C.T.U. had dis-

charged all obligations that it ever owed to the project. Clara Hoffman, now national secretary and one commanding considerable influence, described the Temple as a "bottomless well." The little clique of women who had opposed Mrs. Carse for years at long last had their revenge, even if they had to belie Frances Willard and her position in the Temple matter. The stinging condemnation of the press must have made these disloyal women pause and wonder if, after all, they had chosen the right course.

The final decision of the convention to repudiate the debt of the Temple brought such bitter recriminations that it seemed as if the organization would be dashed to pieces by its own malevolence. The press reported that Mrs. Stevens, the acting president, had admitted that three-fourths of the rank and file of the Union were for the Temple. Only by giving a tortured and twisted interpretation of Frances Willard's view was the convention finally won by the opposition. Even the reporter of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (November 16, 1898) postulated that the abandonment of the Temple might mean the disintegration of the Union. Temperance alone, he wrote, no longer held the power it did twenty years ago, and the enthusiasm and love of the women had been poured into two channels: Frances Willard and the Temple. For them to lose both at about the same time might bring disaster. Undoubtedly the executive committee held the same view, as there began at this time the deification of Frances Willard.

The national officers gave out the following statement to the press: "The outlook of the W.C.T.U. in the United States is the very brightest. The burden which has harassed the local unions for a decade now being dropped will open up the neglected fields of legitimate temperance work." Then the officers pushed through the convention the "Frances Willard Memorial Fund for the extension and perpetuation of the principles for which she gave her life." The idea was that every union on February 17 (the date of her death) would hold a memorial service and send two dollars to the national treasurer for the memorial fund. Thus the wide gap created by the abandonment of the Temple was bridged by lifting aloft the banner of Frances Willard. So began the Frances Willard Tradition.

The repudiation of the Temple, however, cost the Union dearly in prestige and reputation. Many papers picked up the story and caustically criticized the women for this highly unmoral action.

The *St. Paul Globe* (November 15, 1898) said editorially that if a body of men reached such a decision in a corporate institution they would go out into the world with the brands of cowardice and dishonesty upon them. In the editor's opinion, the W.C.T.U. was not "morally justified in abandoning their efforts to retain the Temple." The article pointed out the generous treatment Marshall Field had accorded the women and sharply contrasted the honesty and integrity of such a man with the action of the executive committee. This was the view taken by most of the newspapers and by the people on the street. The brutal attacks made upon Mrs. Carse by the women were characterized by the press as "malicious slander."

The break had been growing all during the nineties between the officers of the Union and the broad policies of Frances Willard. It was not surprising, therefore, that after her death a new policy was instituted, which cut the Union free of politics, socialism, and all the affiliated interests. In the St. Paul convention (1898) a rousing debate occurred again over indorsing the Prohibition party. This the Union had done at Miss Willard's earnest behest ever since 1884. Clara Hoffman, who had pledged her loyalty to Frances Willard so vehemently when she was alive, now rose and said that the organization stood for prohibition and not for any political party and that she did not see why the convention should indorse a party that had never recognized the W.C.T.U. The resolution for indorsement was defeated, reported the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (November 17, 1899). The national convention of 1899 voted to remove their headquarters from the Temple Building in Chicago to the Willard cottage in Evanston, which completed the separation of the Union and the Temple.

Whereas Frances Willard had built the organization little by little into a great woman's movement which embraced suffrage, temperance, politics, labor reform, social purity, and a variety of other timely issues, the new leaders were intent on revamping the organization chiefly along the lines of temperance. Suffrage and the indorsement of labor had become so much a part of their policy that they were reaffirmed, although the suffrage work was no longer emphasized as in the old days. Lacking in imagination as these women were, they were too shrewd to delete the various departments of the Union at one fell swoop, but by placing an increased emphasis upon the temperance issue they gave less interest

to other departments. Mrs. Stevens and Miss Gordon both felt it was time to direct their energies specifically for prohibition.

As temperance had never been the chief objective in the program of Frances Willard, the change in emphasis which took place immediately after her death reorientated the Union. The friends who were her ardent supporters in life and eulogized her in death had no hesitation in promptly abrogating her long-established policies. These women lacked the courage, the imagination, and the ability to carry on the Union of the great leader. Jealousy and lack of leadership marked the transition of the Union from the greatest woman's organization of the nineteenth century to a temperance society of the twentieth century.

Very likely the creation of the Anti-saloon League in 1895 with its single emphasis upon prohibition influenced some of the women to adhere more closely to the temperance issue. Moreover, it must be recognized that, since Frances Willard had pioneered the way, many other societies and clubs had sprung into being which duplicated some of their work. Obviously, there was not the need for the broad scope of the Union in 1900 that there had been in 1880. Had Frances Willard lived, however, she would have adapted it to the newer issues of the day, as was foreshadowed in her desire to establish settlement work. The children of the slums had aroused her interest and compassion. The Temple project also would have provided a means for this transition. The leader's expectation for this building was that it should house a temperance library, the Publishing Association, the world Union, and the national Union, as well as provide a substantial income for the work. Growth and development during all the years had been her creed. It is significant that when she died she was making plans for new work.

The place of Frances Willard in her century is unique because she won recognition in many fields. She was an educator, a leader of women, a leader in politics, a reformer, an orator, and a writer. Although she was only five feet three in height and slight in appearance, she was a dynamic person, abounding in energy. Never did she pursue the obvious or adopt outworn methods. In all her work there was a freshness and an originality which set her apart from her colleagues. She remained too short a time in the teaching field to make any significant contribution to it other than to indicate the imagination and perseverance with which she attacked her

work. Yet she received recognition as an educator and addressed the National Education Association on a number of occasions.[6] Furthermore, when the Alpha chapter in Illinois of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity was established at Northwestern University in 1889, Frances Willard was promptly elected a member. A few years later further recognition was accorded her from the halls of learning when she was offered the presidency of a New York college.[7] Dr. Henry Rogers, president of Northwestern University, spoke on many occasions of her excellent work as a member of the university faculty. Had Miss Willard gone on in the field of education, it is likely that she would have blazoned a trail equal to that of Horace Mann or Mary Lyon. Her work in education, limited though it was, foreshadowed a brilliant career in this field.

Her highest mark was reached in the woman's movement as the director of a national organization of several hundred thousand women and of an international organization of about a million women. It was generally conceded that she was not only the "head and front of the W.C.T.U." but that she was the one "foundation upon which all of its broad lines of work" had been laid. The relation of the Union to suffrage was repeatedly recognized by the press in the nineties, which continually spoke of Frances Willard as an emancipator of women or of the Union as an "Equal Suffrage Association." The scope of her work was more widely recognized and appreciated then than now, because of the Frances Willard myth which has emasculated all her work except temperance. One of the most remarkable characteristics of Miss Willard was the way she held this huge organization together for twenty years. There was no question of the devotion she inspired among her followers, even if some of the leaders showed jealousy and defection. According to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, "The devotion she has inspired seems to have come of its own volition, and the affection that virtually proclaims her infallible has known neither alienation nor lessening through all the years in which she has been the ruling spirit of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union."

At nearly every national convention the local newspapers commented upon the skill of Miss Willard in conducting the sessions, which sometimes were rather stormy. It was frequently stated that she did not have a superior as a presiding officer even in Congress itself. Certainly her poise, dignity, and ready wit thrilled the

crowds that came to these annual meetings. Regardless of how tumultuous the sessions were, her faculty for making odd, witty remarks always restored both good order and good feeling.

Although short of stature, her cheery, intellectual face at once drew the attention of the audience. She had an unconscious little trick of throwing her chin forward and tilting her face upward in an attractive and effective way. Carrying herself very erect, yet with ease and grace, she made a striking figure on the platform. Her light auburn-brown hair, which once had been such an ugly red as to cause her childish heart to ache, gave her a youthful appearance. At fifty-four she looked forty.

This beautiful, poised woman was the admiration of all who ever visited these conventions. As the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (November 7, 1892) reported, "No one ever saw her lose her temper or her head." With this marvelous attribute she was endowed with a keen sense of humor, even if at herself. With such a remarkable combination of talents she drew these women to her as by a magnet. As one writer described it, "she bewitched them." Each time she stepped onto the platform at these annual conventions, which was perhaps a dozen times a day, she was given a round of applause. The women idolized her as the people of France idolized Jeanne d'Arc. Frances Willard, of course, was of a dramatic temperament, and if her family had not been Puritans it is quite possible she would have found her way to the stage. This element in her makeup gave her lectures a lilt which few speakers of her day possessed. She was also highly emotional and won her hearers through this medium rather than through any logical presentation of argument. As for logic, she frequently contradicted herself several times in the same address, but her hearers for the most part did not notice or care, for they would laugh and cry as she melodiously played upon their emotions.

By such methods Frances Willard held this great organization of women in the hollow of her hand for two decades. It should be remembered that many of these women who followed her with such devoted loyalty did so at the price of opposition from husbands, fathers, brothers, sons, or other relatives, for women then were merely in the process of liberation and most men "were agin it." A Canadian woman coined a happy phrase for her: "The Uncrowned Queen of America." Frequently thereafter she was called "the Uncrowned Queen." A more suitable sobriquet and one which

better shows the love the women had for her was "Our Frances." Bishop John Vincent of the Methodist church once spoke of her as "St. Frances." Although this characterization was occasionally used in her lifetime, it was stressed after her death by Anna Gordon and others in building the myth. So was she loved and reverenced by the organization which she commanded.

Out of this enormous following, Frances Willard developed the great woman's movement which was broader than either suffrage or temperance. Using the fresh vigor of the West, she launched a campaign which aroused the great mass of conservative women out of their lethargy—a lethargy which had stifled women of all lands since the fall of the Roman Empire. Suffrage would have come in time, anyway, and temperance was only indirectly affected by her efforts, but the broadness of woman's advancement in America was conditioned by the magnificent work she did in arousing the mass of women to self-consciousness. Women in other countries have the ballot, but they do not have all the advantages they have in this country. Woman suffrage in this country has been based upon a wider, broader foundation than elsewhere, which has given the women of America greater freedom and opportunities than elsewhere. The vote in itself was of small practical advantage. It did, of course, give a minority group certain intrinsic power: the women were in a position to make demands upon politicians with the threat of the ballot which were merely ineffective petitions before. But woman's advancement was not aided by the ballot per se. It had to have the backing of the masses of women who wanted the colleges open for their daughters, the professional schools to give them a career, and opportunities available to them in business. So long as only a handful of women, and those mostly ridiculed by the public, the press, and the pulpit, asked for "rights," they would not be granted. Only by a surging, pulsating mass of women articulate upon social and economic issues of the day could the doors of opportunity be swung open for the ambitious daughters of the nineteenth century.

This, then, was the greatest contribution Frances Willard made to her century and to her sex—to create the flood tide of a woman's movement which should sweep aside restraints and barriers of seclusion, of timidity, and of ignorance. She made them socially conscious of the world around them; she carried them into politics

to stir their interest and arouse their civic pride; she roused them to an equality within the church; she made them conscious that labor issues existed and what the eight-hour law meant; she gave them a vista and a sweep of life that they never before knew existed. She united womanhood for the benefit of women not only in America but around the world.

Her greatest contribution in politics was that she opened the way for women to participate in party deliberations. By raising the Prohibition party to a potential third-party threat she dramatically emphasized the importance of women in party politics. With her graphic success before their eyes, the Republicans hastened to open their ranks to a few key women. Miss Willard was also significant in politics, in that she made thousands of women politically minded who had never before even realized the function of a party. Woman in politics, therefore, dates from Frances Willard's alliance with the Prohibition party. This activity, however, was more significant as a part of the wide-sweeping woman's movement than it was as a special contribution to politics.

The work of Frances Willard as reformer was so closely linked with that of the whole woman's movement that one was an integral part of the other. But her two outstanding reforms were the compulsory study of temperance in the public schools, which was adopted in practically every state and territory by the end of the century, and the drive on social purity, which induced state after state to revise its laws raising the age of consent to sixteen and eighteen, where before it had ranged from eight in the more backward states to fourteen in the more enlightened. So far as temperance was concerned, she was the first to show the relationship of the saloon and the home, which was so effective in enlisting the women by the hundreds of thousands on the side of prohibition. The impact of such a force was largely lost for temperance, as has been pointed out, through the diffusion of energy into many channels. Its effectiveness, therefore, was not for prohibition but as cohesion for the organization itself. "Temperance" was the binding force which drew and held this multitude of women together for a quarter of a century.

As an orator Frances Willard had no peer among women and few among men of her generation. Anna Shaw wrote that she never knew a woman who could grip an audience and carry it with her

as she could and that she did this by an emotional appeal. Miss Willard never made, seemingly, an effort to captivate her listeners, yet her beautiful voice, the simplicity of her diction, and the magnetism of her personality held her audiences as if by magic. She was the most popular speaker of that long list of gifted women who spoke repeatedly at Chautauqua. George E. Vincent, who carried on his father's tradition there for some years, said that, although they had such leading women on their platform as Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Anna Shaw, Ethel Snowden, and Carrie Chapman Catt, Frances Willard was recognized as among the most influential of them all. She had a clear, incisive voice capable of a restrained eloquence which was extremely effective, he said, and with a resonant and moving quality which gave her added control over an audience.[8]

Dr. Charles Little, president of Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, revealed something of her secret power when he said, according to the *Evanston News Index* (February 19, 1898):

> Frances Willard had the gift of eloquence. She was a subtle, thoughtful, thrilling talker. Her voice was clear and melodious and strong with a peculiar quality of blended defiance and deference, of tenderness and intrepidity that gave it an indescribable charm. Her diction was studiously simple; her reasoning luminous and homely; her illustrations full of poetry and humor; her pathos as natural as tears to a child. There was sometimes a lyric rapture in her utterances that wrought her audiences into a delirium of anticipation.
>
> The New Jerusalem of the twentieth century, the transfigured homes of a new commonwealth, seemed to be so near and so real, and there . . . . was always such a sublime confidence in their latent nobility and their ultimate righteousness that for the time, at least, they became in their own eyes the beings that she pictured them, and they sat entranced with the revelation.

Such an analysis of her oratory makes understandable the frequent remarks of reporters that she held her audience as if by witchcraft or that the power of her address was lost in cold print. She had to be heard for one to grasp the ring and thrill of her words.

Frances Willard was a prolific writer, although she wrote too hurriedly to do good work from a literary standpoint. No one realized this more than she did, for she said, "As for writing such poor books as I do, it is at the point of the bayonet they have been

ground out—all but Mary's *Nineteen Beautiful Years.*" Her most widely read book, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, a volume of nearly seven hundred pages, was written in about three months' time. It was written mostly from memory between lectures and, as she said, contained numerous errors of dates and factual material. Her greatest fault as a writer was her lack of organization of material or lack of unity and her lack of interpretation of significant events. Some of her writings were exquisitely lovely. But the remarkable thing was that she wrote so much in her crowded years. From a young woman, she longed to devote herself to writing but felt the financial rewards were too dubious for her to risk her time. Yet regret that she did not do so lingered with her always. In writing her autobiography, she said: "I cannot too strongly counsel any ardent young spirit who feels, as I did, that to express with pen or voice her deepest thought, her ruling love and purpose, is to her more than all else, not to be diverted from that path except by absolute necessity."

It is rather interesting that her nephew, who won considerable reputation as a writer, said of her in his *Autobiography* that if she had devoted her life to more popular subjects than temperance and woman's rights, especially to literature, she would have taken "very high rank in the lists of great orators and writers."[9] The number of books and articles listed in the Bibliography is a revelation of the amount of writing she accomplished.

In addition to the books and articles, Miss Willard wrote numerous pamphlets for the Union. These were on such subjects as "Dress Reform," "Temperance," "Politics," "Social Purity," and "Woman Suffrage." Of course, there was a good deal of interlocking of lectures and articles, which helped somewhat to relieve the pressure of her work. Yet for nearly twenty years she never got on the train, regardless of how fatigued she was, that she did not busy herself in writing. Even her correspondence became something of a problem, for in later life she wrote about twenty thousand letters a year.

In her lighter moments she enjoyed writing verse. After she began her work in the W.C.T.U. this talent was frequently used in composing the words for songs which Anna Gordon set to music. These were published in a special songbook used by the local chapters and by the young people's organizations.

Frances Willard was the most glowing personality of the long list of notable women in the nineteenth century. She stood for more reforms than any other leader; she was interested in a wider program, sponsored more projects, and initiated more enterprises than any other woman of her day. She had greater vision and imagination than any of her colleagues and commanded the largest organization of women in the world, which gave her great power and force. She made the national conventions of the Union front-page news in papers across the country. But, most important of all, she caught the spirit of the West and by creating a fine, strong organization turned back the tide of odious sentiment which had overcast the suffrage associations of the East. She laid her foundations deep, building for the coming womanhood of the nation the respect and the admiration of the press, the public, and the pulpit. And in doing so she awakened the love and the devotion of countless thousands of men and women all over the world. Seldom in history has a woman, not commanding a ruling position of government, won the love of her fellow-men as did Frances Willard. Her nephew, Frank Willard (Josiah Flynt), while admitting that he and his aunt never got along very well together, said that she was one of the most liberal-minded women he had ever known and that as a speaker and as an organizer he doubted whether in her time there was any woman who excelled her. The freshness of her mind and the eagerness with which she explored the new ideas of her century are an index to that quality of aliveness which made her supreme in her work for women. She was a thoroughgoing rebel against the conservatism of her day.

After Miss Willard's death, Anna Gordon sought public recognition for her. Taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the congressional act creating Statuary Hall in the Capitol building, which allowed each state two statues, she petitioned the Illinois legislature, which had sent only one statue, to provide a fund for such a memorial to Frances Willard. Such a bill, accordingly, was approved on February 28, 1899, a little more than a year after her death. Anna Gordon was appointed by Governor J. Mack Tanner, chairman of the Board of Commissioners, to execute the order, which allowed $9,000 for the cost of the statue and all incidental expenses connected therewith. Helen Farnsworth Mears, student of Augustus St. Gaudens, was commissioned to do the work. The

statue was made of Carrara marble and the base of Vermont marble, while the figure itself was of heroic size.

Congress met in special session on Friday afternoon, February 17, 1905, the seventh anniversary of her death, to accept from Illinois the Willard statue. The exercise in the Senate was held at three o'clock under the auspices of Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois, who made the opening speech. He was followed by Senators Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, J. P. Dolliver of Iowa, and Albert J. Hopkins of Illinois. Similar exercises were held in the House of Representatives at four o'clock under the direction of the Hon. George E. Foss of Illinois, who made the first address. He was followed by Charles E. Littlefield of Maine, and Henry S. Boutell of Illinois. Senator Cullom said that Frances Willard possessed a rare gift of eloquence and magnetism which drew thousands into the temperance ranks and that during her years of active life she probably addressed a larger number of public audiences than any man or woman of her time. He said he had known her for many years and that, although she was a reformer, she never shared the usual unpopularity of reformers and that even her advocacy of temperance never made her offensive to any class of people. Concluding his address, Senator Cullom said: "The State of Illinois in presenting the statue to the United States, to be placed in Statuary Hall among the figures of the greatest men that have lived in the United States, has honored itself, has justly honored a great woman, and has paid a tribute to all American womanhood."[10]

Senator Beveridge, one of the most outstanding orators of his day, called her the first woman of the nineteenth century and said that, by placing her statue among the national immortals, a great commonwealth forever commemorates her services to all humanity.

Representative Foss of Illinois said that, while presenting the statue as a tribute to Frances Willard, it was in a larger sense a tribute to woman and the magnificent progress she has made "under our free institutions." Back of Frances Willard the statue represented the woman in the home, the woman in business and the professions, the woman in philanthropy, and "woman everywhere who has ever stood for God, for home and for native land."

On the base of the statue was inscribed the burning plea of Frances Willard for suffrage made before the national convention at Newark in 1876, when she sought its approval for the franchise.



FRANCES WILLARD, 1895

Although then only a handful of friends gave her support, she built from this small beginning her great woman's movement. It is highly symbolic, therefore, that these words should be engraved on her memorial, which was given by the state of Illinois to Congress in tribute of womanhood:

> Ah! it is women who have given the costliest hostages to fortune. Out into the battle of life they have sent their best beloved, with fearful odds against them. Oh, by the dangers they have dared; by the hours of patient watching over beds where helpless children lay; by the incense of ten thousand prayers wafted from their gentle lips to heaven, I charge you give them power to protect along life's treacherous highway those whom they have so loved.

Notes

CHAPTER I—THE FRANCES WILLARD LEGEND
(pp. 1–11)

1. *Minutes of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1915), p. 107.

2. *Union Signal*, May 31, 1923, p. 5. Frances Willard was accepted for the Hall of Fame in 1910, but twenty-five years must elapse after death before placement of a statue among these great. Only four women had been so honored before this date: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mary Lyon, Maria Mitchell, and Emma Willard.

3. This fact has been related to the author by several executive members of the national Union.

4. *Bulletin of the International Council of Women*, July, 1939.

5. *Union Signal*, January 15, 1925, p. 4.

6. *Ibid.*, October 7, 1939, p. 5.

CHAPTER II—PURITAN ANCESTRY
(pp. 12–23)

1. *Woman's Journal*, February 13, 1897.

2. *Records of Massachusetts*, I, 323, 119.

3. John Fiske, *Historical Writings*, VI, 274. Lemuel Shattuck stated that Simon was an Assistant continuously from 1654 until his death in 1676 (*History of the Town of Concord*, p. 387). *Massachusetts Record*, III, 155, 234; IV, Part I, 200, 214, 225, 290, 301, 521; I, 221, 322–23.

4. Nathaniel Eaton was called "Master" in 1636–39. This was a title superior to "President," according to English custom. Under his administration, however, the college all but failed. In August, 1640, Henry Dunster, a graduate of Cambridge University and a new arrival in Boston, was chosen president. It was the evident intention of the board to choose later a "Master." This was never done, however, and "President" became the title of the head of the college. He was the youngest of Harvard's presidents, being thirty at the time he took office, but he was also one of the greatest (see Samuel Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, p. 10).

5. *Records of Massachusetts*, III, 359; John Fiske, *op. cit.*, VI, 274.

6. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Ser. I, V, 76; Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, II, 55; John Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, II, 332.

7. He wrote: *Tramping with Tramps* (1899); *Notes of an Itinerant Policeman* (1900); *My Life* (1908). Flynt secured considerable recognition for his writings; and no less a person than Andrew D. White, president of Cornell University, wrote the Preface for his first book. He died in 1907.

CHAPTER III—THE BEGINNING YEARS
(pp. 24–47)

1. *General Catalogue of Oberlin College, 1838–1908*, p. 1062. It is commonly stated that he attended Oberlin College for four years, but in reality he was enrolled for only three years (1842–45), and that was in the preparatory school, not the college.

2. MS. Mrs. Willard's account of family history, 1887. The college record shows only her enrolment in English literature for two years.

3. Josiah Willard, *History of Rock County*, p. 165.

4. William F. Brown, *Rock County, Wisconsin*, I, 404–5; *Transactions of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society (1858–1859)*, V, 230–31; *Journal of the Second Assembly of the State of Wisconsin* (1849); *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1855), p. 51.

5. Thomas Woody, *History of Education for Women*, XI, 100–101. He quoted from the *Boston Courier* (1858). See also Mary Livermore, *The Story of My Life*, pp. 121–22.

6. Record of Beloit College shows that Oliver was registered in the preparatory department for the year 1852. As he continued his preparatory studies the following year, he also entered the college as a Freshman. The records indicate he left Beloit College in June, 1853, but re-entered the school as a Junior in 1857 and was graduated in June, 1859 (MSS letters from Beloit College Alumni Association, Beloit, Wisconsin, October 19, 1939, and July 6, 1944).

7. Mr. Willard was not a member of the ratifying conventions of 1846–48, as so frequently stated. Curiously enough, a Victor M. Willard represented Racine County in the Constitutional Convention of 1846. But Josiah F. Willard represented Rock County in only one session—January–April, 1849.

8. Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 75. Mrs. Willard felt keenly her own limitation in training her children. Her college work had been only special courses, and there were wide gaps in her education. While at Oberlin she attended the mothers' meetings, hoping that in this way she would learn something about child-rearing. But these meetings proved quite disappointing to her. One thing she did learn, however, was to give her children love, sympathy, encouragement, and understanding (*A Great Mother*, pp. 144–46, 150).

9. MS in Willard Collection.

10. Frances Willard, *Glimpses*, p. 81. It is difficult to give the exact date, as Miss Willard was so inaccurate. In one place she stated that she was fifteen; in another place she said that Professor Hodge came to Janesville ten years after they had, which would place the date in 1856, in which case she would have been seventeen (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 74, 496–97; and *How To Win*, p. 15).

11. *Seventh Annual Report of the Trustees of the Wisconsin Institute for the Education of the Blind* (December 31, 1856), p. 7. It is quite likely that Mr. Willard was instrumental in securing state aid for the institution and in having it located close to his farm.

12. Formerly called the Milwaukee Norman Institute and High School, it had developed from a little school which was opened in 1848 by Mrs. William L. Parsons. But it now faced failure. Catharine Beecher (1800–1878) was appealed to because of her success in establishing schools. In the spring of 1853 Miss Beecher changed the name to the "Milwaukee Female College." It comprised primary, college, and normal-school departments, with a total enrolment of over 230 pupils. Mary Mortimer, a well-known educator of the day, was the principal. In 1895 the school merged with Downer College, becoming the Milwaukee-Downer College, which is today a flourishing institution (Mae Elizabeth Harveson, *Catharine Esther Beecher: Pioneer in Education*, pp. 122–26).

13. Miss Willard's inaccuracies make it exceedingly difficult to determine just when her father became interested in the North Western Female College. She stated that Dr. Clark Hinman, president of Northwestern University and a bishop, had spoken in Janesville at the Methodist conference. Dr. Hinman, however, died in 1854. She also stated that a bishop and the editor of the *Northwestern Advocate* visited Janesville one Sunday and spoke glowingly of the educational institutions there. Likewise she named both Dr. Hinman and Dr. Randolph S. Foster as the first president of Northwestern University (cf. *Glimpses*, p. 98; *A Great Mother*, p. 44; and *A Classic Town*, pp. 285–86).

14. *Second Biennial Report of Illinois Commissioner of Education, 1858*, pp. 282–83. The curriculum was supposed to be bolstered by an arrangement whereby a group of girls desiring a certain advanced course might have the instruction from one of the professors of Northwestern University. However, this was not a satisfactory arrangement.

15. The Milwaukee Female College was one of these not only in number of students but in financial resources and in the superiority of the faculty. The Rockford Female Seminary, of Rockford, Illinois (made a college in 1892), had been established in 1849 as a sister-college to Beloit, and it offered an excellent three-year course. Knox College was one of the best schools in the state at that time, with a library of three thousand volumes. The Illinois Conference Female Academy, established in 1847 (changed to college in 1851), offered by 1854 a four-year college course. It had a library of four thousand volumes, the largest of any college in the state, and was considered the best woman's college in Illinois. Other superior institutions for women in the fifties included Georgia Female College at Macon (1839), Elmira College (1853), Ohio Wesleyan Female College at Delaware (1853), and Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837). A. W. Cummings, who wrote the authoritative book, *Early Schools of Methodism*, did not even list the North Western Female College; nor does Woody in his rather extensive survey of woman's schools. By 1858 there were also several coeducational colleges, such as Oberlin, Antioch, Iowa State University, and Indiana State University. But Frances did not have sufficient preparation to enter any of the coeducational colleges, except as a special student (see Woody, *op. cit.*, I, 171, 375; also *Historical Sketch of Rockford College;* and *Second Biennial Report of Illinois Commissioner of Education* [1858], pp. 282–83).

16. There is little information about this, but the staff for the school paper seemed complete for the year 1858 before the Willard girls arrived in March. *The Casket and Budget* did not long survive, and no printed paper replaced it (*Glimpses*, pp. 100, 106, 109).

17. Before 1850 the colleges offered but one course based on Greek, Latin, and mathematics, which led to the A.B. degree. In 1851 Brown College offered a course without Greek and gave a Ph.B. degree. In the same year Harvard University gave a B.S. degree. The first Ph.D. degree granted in the United States was by Yale University in 1851. Few others did so before the opening of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 (Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 432).

CHAPTER IV—TOWARD A CAREER
(pp. 48–71)

1. In 1861 this society merged into the "Reading Circle," which included men. The Circle was later invited to join the exclusive crowd over on the ridge, known as the "Social Club," which some years later developed into the Evanston Club (Frances Willard, *A Classic Town*, pp. 150–54).

2. *Kankakee Democrat;* clipping in Willard scrapbooks (undated).

3. Ray Strachey, *Frances Willard*, pp. 118–19. This book was published in 1913 before the diaries had been burned.

4. Conversation between the author and his son, Carl Fowler, of New York City, January, 1940.

5. Abel Stevens, *The Women of Methodism*, pp. 298–300.

CHAPTER V—FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS
(pp. 72–83)

1. MS. Diary of Mary Willard, 1860.

2. Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, pp. 109, 643. In this account Miss Willard stated she was not quite nineteen; but, as the family had already moved to Evanston in November, 1858, she had passed her nineteenth birthday. This is just another of those discrepancies which are common in her writings.

3. MS. Diary of Mary Willard (1860).

4. MS. "Clara's Reminiscences of Harlem School, 1860." Clara Thatcher was the daughter of the family with whom Frances boarded when she taught at Harlem (*Glimpses*, p. 142).

5. MS. Packet of notes to Frances Willard from her pupils (1862).

6. MS. Diary of Frances Willard (1869).

CHAPTER VI—THE GREAT ADVENTURE
(pp. 84–96)

1. This was her second visit to the theater. The information for this chapter comes entirely from the manuscript correspondence between Frances and her mother, and the manuscript notebooks which she kept during the journey.

CHAPTER VII—A NEW COLLEGE IN THE NORTHWEST
(pp. 97–115)

1. This was Mrs. Edwin Haskin, wife of the man who loaned Frances the hundred dollars in 1863 to go East.

2. MS. Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Evanston College for Ladies, February 11, 1871, p. 4; MS, Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Evanston College for Ladies, February 23, 1871, p. 6. This institution was often informally referred to as the "Ladies College."

3. The new officers of the Woman's Educational Association were: president, Mrs. A. H. Hoge; first vice-president, Mrs. W. J. Jones; second vice-president, Mrs. Julius White; recording secretary, Mrs. Andrew Shuman; corresponding secretaries, Miss Alice Comstock, Mrs. Mary Shepard; treasurer, Mrs. Charles Grey (*Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1871).

4. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1871; cf. Frances Willard, *A Classic Town*, p. 64. Miss Willard erroneously stated: "On the 16th commencement [June, 1870] the work of the old college ended." The Northwestern school paper stated the degree of Mistress of Arts was conferred on her (see *Tripod*, July 20, 1871).

5. The term "pre-emption" was at that time currently used in homesteading of land; its use in this connection was unique.

6. Frances Willard, *A Classic Town*, p. 64. The enrolment of the Female College for the year 1869–70 was 119 (*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Northwestern Female College* [1869–70], p. 12). The enrolment for the last year of school (1870–71) was 129 pupils (*Sixteenth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Northwestern Female College* [1870–71], p. 9).

7. MS. Lecture given by Frances Willard before the Woman's Congress in New York City, October, 1873.

8. Although most of the seminaries and many of the early colleges had many rules, Georgia Female College (1839) was an exception. Discipline was mild and the rules few as government was "founded on mutual confidence and affection between teacher and pupil" (Woody, *History of the Education of Women*, II, 198–202). The Hartford Female Seminary, established by Catharine Beecher (1821), "introduced a system of moral influence founded upon the Bible" (*American Annals of Education* [1832], II, 66 and 488; also III, 229). It was at the Milwaukee school, established by Catharine Beecher (1852), that Frances Willard first learned of the honor system (Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 94).

9. *Catalogue of the Ladies College* (1872–73), p. 31.

10. The *Tripod* (January, 1873) said that subjects were worked up into articles and printed in the newspapers. But in *Glimpses* Miss Willard said she arranged for her students to report for the Chicago and Evanston papers (p. 219).

11. MS. Proceedings of the Executive Committee (May 21, 1872), p. 89; (May 28, 1872), pp. 90–91; (July 9, 1872), p. 98; (September 17, 1872), p. 110; also see the Financial Statement of the Evanston College for Ladies, 1872–73.

12. MS. Terms of Agreement of the S. P. Lunt Donation, June 8, 1872.

13. Dr. Haven resigned from the presidency of Northwestern University on September 12, 1872; Dr. C. H. Fowler was elected to replace him on October 23, 1872 (MS, Northwestern University Minutes, 1872, pp. 56, 69).

14. The first five women to be so elected to the board were: Kate E. Queal, Jennie F. Wil-

ling, Elizabeth M. Greenleaf, Emily H. Miller, and Mary B. Willard. Mrs. Miller was on the executive committee. In a few years the women became indifferent to this privilege and hence lost their representative on the executive committee (see MS letter from Miss Cornelia Lunt [February 4, 1925] to William A. Dycke, business manager of the University).

15. *Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois* (1871–72), p. 321.

CHAPTER VIII—DEAN OF WOMEN
(pp. 116–27)

1. Letter (May 4, 1939) from one of her old students, Jennie Mitchell Jones, stated that Fowler's unpleasantness toward her was generally known and talked about at the time.

2. MS. Lease showing date of cancellation, December 8, 1873; document in the business office of Northwestern University.

3. MS. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, January 24, 1874, p. 110; also February 17, 1874, p. 113.

4. On the Woman's Advisory Committee were: Mrs. A. H. Hoge, Mrs. I. R. Hitt, Mrs. G. C. Cook, Mrs. A. J. Brown, C. F. Gray, Mrs. J. H. Kedzie, Miss Nina G. Lunt, and Miss Frances E. Willard (*Catalogue of the Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute* [1873–74], p. 118).

5. MS. Proceedings of the Executive Committee (February 14, 1874), pp. 20–21. Mrs. Miller was the only woman on the Executive Committee of the University board. Her appointment in this capacity was a very wise choice.

6. MS. Minutes of Faculty Meetings, February 17, 1874, pp. 112–15; also, April 14, 1874, p. 120.

7. Kate Jackson did not follow Frances Willard into the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. After leaving Northwestern University she traveled extensively and spent many years in Europe. She died at Redlands, California, in 1900. She was in Paris in 1898 when Frances Willard died.

8. *Chicago Tribune*, June 25, 1874. The resolution was signed by Mrs. Andrew J. Brown, Mrs. A. H. Hoge, Mrs. J. R. Hitt, Mrs. J. H. Kedzie, and Mrs. J. A. Pearson.

9. MS. Northwestern University Minutes, June 24, 1874, p. 254. Members of the resignation committee were: Judge Grant Goodrich, Emily Huntington Miller, and Robert F. Queal.

10. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1871, p. 562; June 25, 1872, pp. 16–17, 20, 28. See also *Catalogue of the Evanston College for Ladies* (1871–72) and *Catalogue of Northwestern University* (1874).

CHAPTER IX—AN ADVOCATE FOR WOMEN
(pp. 128–50)

1. Either she was mistaken in the date, or else she first read excerpts in some periodical, as the book *On Liberty* was not published until 1859. However, the first publication of "The Subjection of Women" was not until 1869; and its first inclusion in the volume of essays, *On Liberty*, was in the edition of 1873.

2. April 6, 1871. For some of the Hatfield articles see the *Independent*, April 1 and July 8, 1869, and other papers in the same year.

3. *Chicago Evening Mail*, March 22, 1871. Oliver Willard had become editor of this paper in November, 1871. It was merged with the *Evening Post* in January, 1874. Oliver had been pastor of the Laurence Street Methodist Episcopal Church, 353 Fourteenth Street, Denver, Colorado. After leaving this position, he had become Wisconsin agent for the Globe Mutual Life Insurance Company, with headquarters at Appleton, Wisconsin. In the late sixties he had removed to Evanston.

4. Mrs. Milton Terry (1939) was for long years the next-door neighbor. Her husband was professor at Garrett Biblical Institute.

5. Kate Sanborn, "Frances Willard," in *Our Famous Women*, p. 701.

6. *Cleveland Leader*, November 22, 1870 (clipping in the Susan B. Anthony Scrapbook, III [1869–71], 215).

7. The call for the convention was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock (*Woman's Tribune*, March 27, 1888). Although it is true that there was considerable controversy about the inclusion of women in these organizations, the strongest men in both camps heartily approved of participation of the women. Among these were Gerrit Smith, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, and Henry Ward Beecher.

8. *Daily Star*, August 9, 1869 (clipping in the Anthony Scrapbook, II, 168.)

9. *Alpha Phi Quarterly*, February, 1898, pp. 58–63. This was the Alpha chapter established at Syracuse University in 1872. When the Beta chapter was established at Northwestern University in June, 1881, Frances Willard was one of the organizers. She took considerable interest in the girls and frequently visited them or invited them to her "den."

10. "Woman's Work and Wages," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXVII (September, 1868), 547.

11. *Boston Transcript*, March 2, 1874. The generous owner was Harry Hill.

12. "Bands of women of good social standing marched to the saloons before which or in which they sang hymns, and kneeling down, prayed that the great evil of drink might be removed. Sympathizing men wrought with them in causing the strict law of the state against the sale of strong liquor to be rigidly enforced. Since Republicans were, in the main, the instigators of the movement, it alienated from their party a large portion of the German votes" (James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, 68–69; see also Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 109).

13. Story and reprint of letter given in the *Woman's Advocate*, March, 1869, p. 167.

14. *New York Tribune*, February 27, 1874; *Chicago Post and Mail*, March 9, 1874.

15. *Woman's Journal*, February 28, 1874, p. 68, and March 14, 1874. Henry Blackwell, husband of Lucy Stone, was an editor of this periodical.

16. Frances Willard, "The First Time I Saw Neal Dow," *Witness*, April 4, 1894; cf. *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 128, and the *Union Signal*, April 8, 1886. In both references she declared that it was the first temperance lecture she had ever heard.

17. Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing (sister of President Fowler of Northwestern University) presided at this meeting as chairman, and Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller acted as secretary. Both women had been on the board of the Evanston College for Ladies, and both of them at this time (1874) were on the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University. Of course, they both knew Frances Willard well.

CHAPTER X—CONQUEST OF POWER
(pp. 151–72)

1. Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 401. This person is probably the same as Mrs. Letitia Youmans (cf. p. 433).

2. *Woman's Journal*, November 28, 1876; and *Glimpses*, p. 466. In this account Miss Willard gave the date as 1875, but other accounts indicate it was 1876 (*Herald*, June 15, 1893; *Woman's Journal*, November 28, 1876; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, September 23, 1876). Other accounts also differ from Miss Willard's version by saying that it was Mrs. E. E. Marcy of Evanston, the secretary, who made the motion to table it. Probably Mrs. Louise S. Rounds of Chicago made the motion to adopt. Several speeches Miss Willard named as her first suffrage speech (cf. *Woman and Temperance*, p. 450; and *Glimpses*, p. 351).

3. *Beloit Free Press*, July 11, 1878. A series of addresses by old friends given in his commemoration at the Annual Meeting of the Alumni of Beloit College (July 2, 1878).

4. *Minutes of the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union* (1879), pp. 108–10. She cited New Hampshire as reporting one hundred unions, yet paying dues of $10; New York as report-

ing sixty unions and paying $75.67; Massachusetts, the most erring sister, reporting one hundred and forty-eight unions but paying only $25.27. Iowa, as reported, had eighty unions and paid the national treasury $90.47.

5. *Ibid.*, Frances Willard had sponsored a resolution to this effect as early as 1876. It read: "*Whereas*, The Public press is a mighty engine of influence in our land, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we will endeavor by regularly systematized effort to reach the press, especially the county papers and the religious ones, through the advertising agencies, and by all other practicable means; and that the secretaries of the State and local unions be urged to attend to this matter" (see *ibid.* [1876], p. 103).

6. *Journal of the Senate of the 31st Assembly of Illinois* (1879), p. 546; *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1879.

7. *Congressional Record* (45th Cong., 2d sess.), VIII (December 3, 1877—February 13, 1878), 671–72. William P. Fry was representative from Maine (1871–81) and then succeeded James G. Blaine in the Senate.

8. Frederick J. Turner, "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXIX (April, 1897), 433–43.

CHAPTER XI—NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE UNION
(pp. 173–92)

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, I, 48.

2. *Union Signal*, February 2, 1882, February 22, 1883, and June 22, 1882.

3. *Ibid.*, August 16 and 30, 1883.

4. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1881), p. 43. In *Glimpses of Fifty Years* Miss Willard records the passage of this important resolution as at the Louisville convention of 1882 (p. 380).

5. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1885), p. 74; *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois* (1877), p. 537; *Laws of the State of Illinois* (1887), p. 148. Age of consent in cases of guardianship was raised to eighteen; but general consent was raised only to fourteen.

6. *Congressional Record* (49th Cong., 2d sess. [January 13, 1887]), XVIII, 631. A number of similar petitions were presented by citizens of cities and states (*ibid.* [January 29, 1887], p. 1173; [February 7, 1887], p. 1426; [February 22, 1887], p. 2053).

7. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1886), p. 77; also see *Detroit Tribune*, November 15, 1888, on the Woman's Congress.

8. Frances Willard, *Our Day*, II (1883), 479. The white ribbon was the emblem of the W.C.T.U. and the white rose that of the Prohibition party.

9. *Ibid.*, II (1888), 479.

10. Frances Willard, *The Coming Brotherhood of Man*, p. 9. (A leaflet.)

CHAPTER XII—THE WEST AND SUFFRAGE
(pp. 193–209)

1. Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, pp. 380–85. The handful of dissident members organized the National Woman's Evangelical Temperance Union, which soon died out.

2. *Union Signal*, April 30, 1885. The *Union Signal* was established in 1882, being a merger of *Our Union* and the *Illinois Signal*.

3. *History of Woman Suffrage*, IV, 215. So much criticism followed Miss Anthony's appearance on their platform in 1881 that it was some years before the experiment was repeated.

4. *Seventh Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Illinois* (1880), p. 18.

5. Susan B. Anthony Scrapbook, VI (1880–82), 452.

6. *Senate Journal of Illinois* (1885), p. 34; see also *Union Signal*, January 29, 1885. Senator Whiting of the Twenty-fifth District, a resident of Bureau County, presented the amendment (*Union Signal*, March 26, 1885). This bill was introduced by Senator Belnap. See also *Union Signal*, March 10 and 26, 1885; and *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Illinois* (1888), p. 134, and *Sixteenth Annual Report* (1889), p. 131.

7. *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Session of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa* (1883), p. vii.

8. Anthony Scrapbook, XXI (1896), 31.

9. *Ibid.*, XXII (1896), 126. This is an article written by Ella Wilson Marchant for the *Light of Truth*.

10. *Ibid.*, XVIII (1894), 25.

11. *Senate Report*, No. 1576 (51st Cong., 1st sess.); *Congressional Record* (49th Cong., 2d sess. [1887]), XVII, 34–36; *History of Woman Suffrage*, IV, 110; *Senate Miscellaneous Documents* (1887–88), Vol. II, No. 114.

12. MS. Letter from Susan B. Anthony to Frances Willard, November 18, 1886. There was a distinct coolness between Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton after about 1883.

13. Anthony Scrapbook, XXIII (1897), 21, clipping taken from the *Pacific Epic* of 1896; see also *ibid.*, XVII (1894), 36, clipping taken from the *Washington Evening News*, February 17, 1894; and XIX (1894), 173.

14. *History of Woman Suffrage*, IV, 1047.

CHAPTER XIII—GOSPEL POLITICS
(pp. 210–26)

1. Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 375. James G. Birney died in 1857, so it is not certain to whom she here refers.

2. *Chicago Tribune*, August 27, 1881; *Signal*, August 25 and September 8, 1881.

3. Frances Willard, *Glimpses*, p. 382. The old name of the party was restored in 1884, and thereafter it was known as the National Prohibition party (see Ernest H. Cherrington, *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States*, p. 167).

4. Allen Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 174.

5. *Voice*, October 25, 1888; Frances Willard stated the opposition vote was only 31 (see *Glimpses*, p. 457).

6. Anthony Scrapbook, X (1888), 124, clipping taken from the *St. Louis Republic*, June 18, 1888.

7. The election returns of the Prohibition party were: 1880, 10,366; 1884, 150,626; 1888, 249,845; 1892, 270,710 (the Populists polled 1,041,028); 1896, 130,617 (in the 1896 election the Prohibition party split on the currency issue, as did the Democrats).

CHAPTER XIV—PARTY POLITICS
(pp. 227–44)

1. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 1, 1892; also the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 1, 1892. The women who signed this telegram were Mary Woodbridge, Mollie G. Hayes, and Esther Pugh.

2. MSS. Letters to T. C. Richmond from E. W. Chafin (January 19, 1895) and from Ignatius Donnelly (April 14, 1895).

3. MS. Letter to Henry D. Lloyd from Frances Willard (January 17, 1895).

4. MS. Letter to Henry D. Lloyd from E. J. Wheeler (September 5, 1895). Wheeler was editor of the *New York Voice* and secretary of the newly formed National Conference Committee.

5. MSS. Letters to Henry D. Lloyd from Edward Bellamy (December 5, 1896) and from Richard T. Ely (March 25, 1896).

NOTES

CHAPTER XV—TEMPERANCE AND LABOR
(pp. 245–59)

1. Frances Willard, *Temperance and the Labor Question* ("Signal Lights Leaflets," No. 18).

2. *Labor, Its Rights and Wrongs: Statements and Comments by the Leading Men of Our Nation on the Labor Question of Today* (1886), pp. 176–78.

3. *Journal of United Labor*, July 23, 1887; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 14, 1887.

4. Susan B. Anthony had long been sympathetic to labor, although she frequently antagonized them by her methods. She, too, however, had been initiated into the Knights (see Alice Henry, *The Trade Union Women*, pp. 25–255; and Terence V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, p. 338).

5. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor* (1889), pp. 28–30.

6. Frances Willard, *The Coming Brotherhood* ("National Leaflets," No. 36); also *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, October 5, 1888; and Henriette G. Frank and Amelie H. Jerome (eds.), *Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club for Forty Years, 1876–1916*, pp. 65–66, 363.

7. Frances Willard, *Temperance and the Labor Question* ("Signal Lights Leaflets," No. 18).

8. Powderly, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 363. Although opposed to the strike which led to the disorder because few of their men were involved, the Order was blamed for the disturbance, and the affair marked the decline of the Knights. George A. Schilling (1849–1941) was a leading labor man of Chicago and the editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. Although a Knight, he frequently opposed Powderly. Later he was a member of the American Federation of Labor. Henry Demarest Lloyd (1847–1903) was a journalist and reformer. For some years he was financial editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. In 1885 he left the paper to devote himself to labor reforms. He is best known as the writer of *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894).

9. *Peacemaker* (November, 1887), VI, 30. The Homestead Strike occurred in the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania. Blood was shed in the battle between the strikers and the Pinkerton detectives hired by the president of the company, Henry C. Frick. The strikers lost public sentiment when they attempted to assassinate Frick. The state militia broke the strike.

10. Eugene V. Debs was released from prison on November 25, 1895. Mr. Lloyd probably was trying to arrange a public demonstration of vindication for him. The Pullman Strike (1894) was caused by Mr. Pullman's refusal to discuss grievances with representatives of employees. The American Railway Union under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs voted a boycott against all Pullman cars. Transportation was paralyzed throughout the North. The strike was broken by government injunction.

11. This was one of the clear distinctions between the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L. was opportunistic and practical, the Knights were idealistic and vague. The A. F. of L. accepted the strike as an instrument of power, while the K. of L. rejected it as a policy.

12. *Age of Labor*, April 15, 1892; see also the address of Frances Willard, *Minutes of the Second Biennial Convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1893).

13. Frances Willard, Address, *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1891), p. 118. The A. F. of L. had rejected by the mid-nineties all forms of socialism and had put their faith in trade-unionism working within the framework of the major political parties.

14. MS. Letter from Frances Willard at Reigate Cottage, England, January 2, 1894, to Henry D. Lloyd. The address refers to the one he made in December, 1893, before the A. F. of L. It was this address which brought Lloyd and Gompers together. Gompers, however, soon deserted the Socialist camp.

15. Edward H. Rogers of Chelsea, Massachusetts, in an open letter in the *Journal of United Labor*, July 9, 1887. This remark she made in several places: her annual address to the Union of 1887, and in her leaflet on *Temperance and the Labor Question* ("Signal Lights Leaflets," No. 18).

16. Frances Willard, *The Modern Temperance Movement* (pamphlet; London, 1893).

17. *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, October 4, 1894. At this time Mr. Powderly no longer held an official position with the Knights.

CHAPTER XVI—PEACE AND ARBITRATION
(pp. 260–72)

1. Howard Evans, *Sir Randal Cremer;* see also Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography*, Vol. II, chap. xxxviii.

2. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1887), p. 84; *Report of the Universal Peace Union* (1866–91), p. 7. The Universal Peace Union was organized in 1866 and was composed of branch units in the United States and abroad. These auxiliary units before the end of the century numbered over thirty. It was not until 1888, however, that the Universal Peace Union was chartered with power to establish the branch units. Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, the national superintendent of the department of peace in the W.C.T.U., was also prominent in suffrage work. In 1891 she became president of the Maine Woman's Equal Suffrage Association, and in 1895 she was elected treasurer of the National Council of Women. Mrs. Bailey was a member, also, of the Society of Friends.

3. The *Peacemaker* commented: "October 31, 1887 marks an era for peace: The day the president of the United States received a deputation from Great Britain who desire his co-operation in securing a treaty between that country and the United States which shall provide for the amicable settlement of disputes by arbitration." This memorial was signed by 232 members of the British Parliament and had the active support of Andrew Carnegie and David Dudley Malone of the United States (*Peacemaker* [July–August, 1887], VI, 9–10; and [November, 1887], VI, 81).

4. *Peacemaker* (August, 1889), VIII, 172–73; *Report of the Universal Peace Union* (1893), p. 260; *Peacemaker* (March, 1889), VIII, 173; *Report of the Fifth Universal Peace Congress* (1893), p. 68.

5. *Peacemaker* (August, 1890), IX, 78. The first congress was held in Paris, June 23–27, 1889; the second in London, July 14–19, 1890; the third was held in Rome, November 11–16, 1891; the fourth in Berne, Switzerland, August 22–27, 1892; and the fifth in Chicago, August 14–20, 1893. Of these, the Union sent delegates only to the first, second, and fifth congresses. Among the resolutions adopted at the London Peace Congress were the following: (1) fraternity between individuals implies fraternity between nations; (2) indigenous and weak races ought to be protected against all abuse by force and guaranteed against the vices of the so-called civilized nations; (3) equitable commercial relations ought to be established between nations as a first step toward freedom of exchange; (4) uniformity of weights and measures of money, of postal and telegraphic rates, and of methods of transportation would be desirable; (5) the duty of the peace congresses is to search for means of creating judicial tribunals independent of the executive power whose duty it should be to adjust all disputes which might otherwise result in war; (6) a congress of all the representatives of the European states ought to be called together to devise means for bringing about gradually a general disarmament; (7) military exercises ought to be replaced in the schools by useful physical exercises.

6. *Peacemaker* (December, 1888), VII, 108–9. These twelve states were Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Ohio, Iowa, Minnesota, North Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, Southern California, and Maryland; and in addition there was Washington Territory.

7. Photostat of petition from the records of the United States Senate, 52d Congress, 1st session (1892), is in the National Archives, Washington, D.C. This memorial was ordered by the world and national Woman's Christian Temperance Union at their convention held in Faneuil Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston, Massachusetts, November 10–18, 1891.

8. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, January 22, 1892. Chile had undergone civil war, and our ambassador there was considered to have given aid to one side. A vessel with a cargo of arms was seized

and returned to the United States. When news of the seizure was received in Valparaiso, some American sailors were on shore leave. They were attacked by the angry populace, and one was killed and several were wounded. America's demand for an apology was refused. But as soon as the President laid the situation before Congress preparatory to asking for action, the belated apology arrived.

9. *Official Report of the Universal Peace Union* (1893), p. 70.

10. A disputed boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana remained unsettled for some years. President Cleveland decided to force a settlement of the controversy and sent a message to this effect on July 20, 1895. England resented this interference and refused to arbitrate. Also she denied that the Monroe Doctrine had the force of international law. After a number of acrimonious notes had been exchanged, England and the United States came to an understanding in November, 1896. By this understanding an arbitral tribunal was provided for, which should arbitrate the Venezuelan boundary question. The tribunal, incidentally, gave most of the disputed territory to Great Britain.

11. *Peacemaker* (September, 1891), X, 53. By act of Congress in 1889 all waters of the Bering Sea east of the line of the treaty of 1867 were under the jurisdiction of the United States. This was to protect the seal fisheries. England objected on the part of Canada. The matter was finally arranged to be arbitrated in February, 1892. Final settlement, however, did not take place until 1911.

12. Frances Willard, *The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union* ("White Ribbon Leaflets," No. 4).

13. Mrs. H. J. Bailey, *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent Department of Peace and Arbitration for the World's W.C.T.U.* (1893), p. 4.

14. *The Polyglot Petition* ("National Leaflets," No. 75).

CHAPTER XVII—CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS
(pp. 273–86)

1. H. G. Frank and A. H. Jerome (eds.), *Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club, 1876–1916*, p. 42.

2. Anthony Scrapbook, X (1888), 171.

3. Olive Finley Singleton, *The History of Alpha Phi, 1872–1922*, p. 35.

4. Frances Willard, "Woman and the Temperance Question," *Journal of Social Science*, XXII–XXIII (1887), 79–80.

5. Although influential in calling the International Council of Women together in the beginning, Elizabeth Cady Stanton quickly faded out of significance. She loved ease and rarely worked except when prodded into action by Susan. The result was that Frances Willard had been left the responsibility of the Council. With Mrs. Stanton's prolonged visits in England with her daughter, the way was paved for the union of the two suffrage associations (1890). Miss Anthony, however, insisted that her old friend be made the president, as she was accused of pushing Mrs. Stanton aside for her own advantage (Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, II, 630.)

6. *Transactions of the National Council of Women*, February 22–25, 1891, pp. 27–31. At this meeting the name of the Council was changed from the Woman's National Council to the National Council of Women. The influence of the Union in the Council remained for some years after Frances Willard went out of office. Lillian M. N. Stevens, later president of the Union, became treasurer of the Council in 1891, and other Union women were also active in it.

7. *History of the World's Columbian Exposition*, IV, 102–17.

CHAPTER XVIII—VIEWS ON MANY SUBJECTS
(pp. 287–307)

1. Frances E. Willard, *The Modern Temperance Movement* (pamphlet; London, 1893).

2. MS. Letter to Anna Gordon from Edward R. Pease (secretary of the Fabian Society), London, March 21, 1894. He said: "Miss Willard is a member of the Fabian Society, having duly and formally joined."

3. Frances Willard, *Frances Willard on Socialism* (a leaflet). Compare with similar declarations to devote her life to politics, preaching, and writing.

4. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1897), pp. 114–19. There follow some of the books in her library on socialism. *Physics and Politics* by Walter Bagehot, published in 1884; on the flyleaf was inscribed her name and the date 1886. Henry George, *Social Problems*, published in 1886; another book by the same author, published a year later, had the title *Protection or Free Trade*. On the flyleaf the author had written her name and "with the compliments of Henry George, March 19, 1887." There was a book by Simon Newcomb, *Principles of Political Economy*, in which Frances Willard had written her name on the flyleaf with the date, "Evanston, January 30, 1886." Beatrice Potter, *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*. In this book she had written her name with the notation, "London 1893. Presented by the author." Another book secured during her stay in London was by J. Compton Rickett, *The Quickening of Caliban: A Modern Story of Evolution*. In this she had written below her name "Haslemere, October 1893. In my pursuit of socialist books I came on this." Dr. Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America*. On the flyleaf she had inscribed under her name, "Rest Cottage, March 11, 1887. (Recommended to me by the Knights of Labor.)" Another famous book from a famous author was *Social Theory* by John Bascom, president of Wisconsin University. On the flyleaf the author had written, "Frances E. Willard, LL.D. with Christmas Greetings from John and Emma, 1895." There was also a copy of *German Social Democracy* by Bertrand Russell, published in 1896; and the *Genesis of the Social Democracy* by N. S. Nash, published a year later.

5. *Appleton's Encyclopedia* (3d ser.; 1896), I, 535; *By-laws of the Willard Co-operative Colony* (1895).

6. Mrs. Willard, too, had long been interested in phrenology (see *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 529).

7. *North American Review*, CLX (1895), 343; *American Encyclopedia*, XXII, 732; *Psychical Research Journal*, VI (1893–94), 141, 173.

8. The other women delegates were Amanda G. Rippey of Kansas; Mary G. Nind of Minnesota; Angie F. Newman of Nebraska; Lizzie D. Van Kirk of Pennsylvania.

9. Sitting on the platform were the following bishops, who also had signed the address: Thomas Bowman, Randolph S. Foster, Stephen M. Merrill, Edward G. Andrews, Henry M. Warren, Cyrus D. Foss, John F. Hurst, John M. Walden, William F. Mallalieu, and Charles H. Fowler (*New York Times*, May 2, 1888; see also *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church Held in New York, May 1–31, 1888*).

10. *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1888. Charles Fowler died in 1908.

11. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1888. There were about five hundred delegates. Also see *New York Tribune*, May 2, 1888, and *New York Times*, May 8, 1888.

12. *Woman's Journal*, November 14, 1891, p. 363. The woman question has continued to agitate the Methodists these many years, for after the women won the minor victory of lay representation, they asked for ordination and then for complete ministerial status. The General Conference (1940) voted overwhelmingly against according women this equality (see *Chicago Daily News*, May 3, 1940).

13. MS. Account of Frances Willard.

14. "Theosophy" was the name given to an amalgamation of occult, Indian, and modern

spiritualism. The movement was started in 1875 through the efforts of the Russian, Helen Petrovna Blavatsky, and Colonel Henry Steel Alcott of New York. After Mrs. Blavatsky's death, Annie Besant became leader.

CHAPTER XIX—FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY
(pp. 308–19)

1. MS. Letter from Josiah Willard shortly before he died, to his friend, Mr. Obadiah Huse of Evanston, asking him to assist Mrs. Willard in the probation of his will (Churchville, New York, January 15, 1868). The home, he stated, was clear.

2. MS. Letter from Frances to her mother (Denver, Colorado, April 26, 1880).

3. MS. Letter from Frances to her mother (Quincy, Illinois, August 26, 1880). Kean was her father's old business partner, and he had apparently helped out between checks.

4. MS. Letter from Anna Gordon to Mrs. Willard (New York, November 14, 1881). The information in this chapter is derived from a series of manuscript letters from Frances to her mother and from Anna Gordon to Mrs. Willard.

5. MS. Letter from Mary Bannister Willard to her mother-in-law (Berlin, March 17, 1892).

6. MS. Letter from Frances to her mother (train going to Madison—no date). At this time she spoke before the University of Wisconsin and was entertained at the home of President John Bascom.

7. This companion was W. Ribong Maum, also an acquaintance of his aunt. Out of respect for her, Frank used the pseudonym "Josiah Flynt" in his writings.

CHAPTER XX—A SOJOURN IN ENGLAND
(pp. 320–39)

1. Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Lady Henry Somerset*, p. 174. Mrs. Pearsall Smith was sometimes referred to as Hannah Whitall Smith.

2. The "Priory" at Reigate was usually spoken of as the Reigate Cottage. Reigate was a village not far from London and was practically owned by Lady Henry.

3. *Review of Reviews*, XVI (1897), 434. The handbook was approved by the board of the World's W.C.T.U. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Andrews, who was associate editor of *Union Signal* for nearly seven years, helped with it (*Woman's Herald*, June 8, 1893, p. 250, col. 2).

4. *Woman's Herald*, April 6, 1893, p. 101, col. 1. The lot had been given her by C. F. Wingate, promoter of Twilight Park; and a small inheritance from an uncle enabled her to build the cottage.

5. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, November 19, 1894. He was not unknown to the Union; the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association had issued a leaflet of his in 1892 called *The Bible and Woman* (see *Woman's Journal*, March 19, 1892, p. 97, col. 1).

6. *New York Tribune*, April 20 and 22, 1896.

7. Frances Willard stated in her annual address to the national convention in 1896 that $10,000 had been sent (see *Minutes of the National Woman's Temperance Union* [1896], p. 122; *Woman's Signal*, October 15, 1896; *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Woman's Journal*, October 31, 1896, p. 345; and the *New York Tribune*, October 23, 1896).

8. Lady Henry's sister, Adelaide, married Lord Tavistock, who was the son and heir of the Duke of Bedford. Mrs. William Gladstone and Lady Aberdeen were also of this group.

CHAPTER XXI—THE WEIGHT OF ORGANIZATION
(pp. 340–66)

1. *Minutes of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1885), p. 64. At this time Miss Willard stated that the Polyglot Petition was sent to Mrs. Leavitt the preceding August, although she frequently asserted that it was sent out with her. The Polyglot Petition read as follows: "HONOURED RULERS, REPRESENTATIVES, AND BROTHERS: We, your Petitioners, although belong-

ing to the physically weaker sex, are strong of heart to love our homes, our native land, and the world's family of nations. We know that clear brains and pure hearts make honest lives and happy homes, and that by these the nations prosper, and the time is brought nearer when the world shall be at peace. We know that indulgence in Alcohol and Opium and in other vices which disgrace our social life, makes misery for all the world, and most of all for us and for our children. We know that stimulants and opiates are sold under legal guarantees which make the Governments partners in the traffic, by accepting as revenue a portion of the profits, and we know with shame that they are often forced by treaty upon populations either ignorant or unwilling. We know that the law might do much now left undone to raise the moral tone of society and to render vice difficult. We have not power to prevent these great iniquities beneath which the whole world groans, but you have power to redeem the honour of the nations from an indefensible complicity. We, therefore, come to you with the United voices of representatives of women of every land, beseeching you to raise the standard of the law to that of Christian morals; to strip away the safeguards and sanctions of the state from the drink traffic and the opium trade, and to protect our homes by the total prohibition of these curses of civilization throughout all the territory over which your Government extends."

2. *Review of Reviews*, XVI (1897), 434. Although this account states that Miss Ackermann was sent out in 1887, other accounts give 1888 (see *A Brief History of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, p. 54; Frances Willard, *The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union* ["White Ribbon Leaflets," No. 4], p. 2).

3. Frances Willard, *American Leaflet of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union: What It Is,What It Proposes To Do*, pp. 11–16; *Report of the Fourth Biennial Convention and Minutes of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1897), p. 79.

4. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1888), pp. 228–35; see also *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* (new ser., 1890), p. 859.

Under Mrs. Carse's presidency the Chicago Union, where Frances Willard first started her work, became one of the most active in the organization. It supported more charities, which included day nurseries, kindergartens, a mission, reading-room for men, dispensaries, and an industrial school at an annual cost of over ten thousand dollars. Mrs. Carse was responsible for raising this amount, which she always seemed able to do (see Frances Willard, *A Woman of the Century*, p. 155).

5. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* (new ser., 1890), XV, 859.

6. Frances Willard, *A Great Mother*, pp. 274–76. W.C.T.U. headquarters were moved from New York in 1885 to 161 South La Salle Street; but after 1892 the pesonal staff of Miss Willard was merged with the general secretariat at the Temple. Among these early assistants were Helen Hood, Ruby Gilbert, Irene Fockler, and Alice Briggs.

7. *Report of the Fourth Biennial Convention and Minutes of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1897), p. 52.

8. *Skaneateles Press*, September 2, 1938. An account by E. Frye Barker of Miss Willard's visit to her mother's home (Mrs. Abram T. Barker, Skaneateles, New York), in September, 1897. At this time Miss Willard plainly showed exhaustion.

9. *Minutes of National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1897), p. 130.

10. MS. Letter with clippings from W. W. Buchanan, manager of the *Templar* (Hamilton, Canada), September 12, 1894.

11. Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Lady Henry Somerset*, p. 208.

12. Clipping sent to Frances Willard by an unsigned friend, with the acid admonition to avoid the appearance of evil.

13. MS. "The Position of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States in Relation to the Colored People," *New York Tribune*, September 11, 1897, p. 5, col. 3.

14. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–3.

15. Those who resigned were: Frances Willard, president; Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, vice-president; Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman, recording secretary; Mrs. Helen M. Barker, treasurer; Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey of Maine; Mrs. A. S. Benjamin of Michigan; and Mrs. Anna M. Hammer of Pennsylvania (*New York Tribune*, November 6, 1897, p. 5, col. 1).

CHAPTER XXII—THE END OF THE CENTURY
(pp. 367–87)

1. MS. Letter to Reba Butler from Frances Willard (December 15, 1897). In Mrs. Butler's Collection at the Library of Congress.

2. These were Anna Gordon, Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, Mrs. Clara Hoffman, Mrs. Katherine L. Stevenson, Miss Helen M. Barker, and Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey (*Evanston News Index*, February 26, 1898, p. 1, col. 4).

3. *Woman's Journal*, April 16, 1898, p. 122, col. 4. Reprinted from the *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.).

4. MS. Copy of will. See also *New York Tribune*, March 28, 1898, p. 5, col. 1; *Evanston News Index*, February 26, 1898, p. 1., col. 4; *Seattle Daily Times*, October 21, 1899, p. 2, col. 1.

5. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (1898), p. 67, and also the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, November 17, 1899, p. 3, col. 3; and November 18, p. 3, col. 3.

6. *The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association* (1875), pp. 181–88; (1884), pp. 161–68; (1890), pp. 159–78.

Phi Beta Kappa is an honorary organization for distinguished scholarship founded in 1776 at Williams and Mary; it was slow to be introduced to the colleges of the prairie.

7. *Baltimore Sun*, October 24, 1895, p. 6, col. 4.

8. MS. Letter to author from George E. Vincent, November 28, 1938. He is the son of Bishop John Vincent, founder of Chautauqua, and a distinguished scholar.

9. Josiah Flynt, *Autobiography*, p. 41.

10. *Statue of Miss Frances E. Willard*, p. 18; see also *Congressional Record*, XXXIX (1905), Part III, 2779–84, 2801–9.

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[PRINTED IN U·S·A·]